

## MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

WILLIAM KURRELMEYER  
KEMP MALONE

CHARLES E. ANDERSON  
DON CAMERON ALLEN

## Advisory Editors

R. Feise, Grace Frank, J. C. French, E. D. Havens, E. Malakis, E. B. Reulsten,  
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## ERNST JÜNGERS KAMPF UM DIE FORM

DARGESTELLT AN DEN BEIDEN FASSUNGEN DES BUCHES VOM  
"ABENTEUERLICHEN HERZEN"

Ernst Jünger gehört zu jenen Schriftstellern, die sich dem Werk am Werke unterziehen. "In Stahlgewittern," "Das Wäldchen 125," "Blätter und Steine" zeigen deutliche Spuren kritischer Überarbeitung.<sup>1</sup> Doch am eindringlichsten sind Durchsicht und Umguss am Buche vom "Abenteuerlichen Herzen"—weit eindringlicher als es Jünger selbst darstellt.<sup>2</sup>

Ein Vergleich der beiden Fassungen ist besonders wichtig und lohnend, denn "Das abenteuerliche Herz" ist der Schlüssel zum

<sup>1</sup> "In Stahlgewittern" liegt in drei Bearbeitungen vor: 2. Aufl. von 1922; 13. Aufl. von 1931; 14. Aufl. von 1934.—Während die ersten Auflagen des "Wäldchen 125" allgemein Weltanschauliches enthielten, schmolz durch dessen Ausmerzungen der Text bei den weiteren Auflagen "auf fast die Hälfte zusammen," wie Karl O. Paetel berichtet in *Ernst Jünger. Weg und Wirkung*. (Stuttgart 1949), p. 212.—"Blätter und Steine" wurden für zwei Ausgaben von 1942 überarbeitet, so daß sie von der Urfassung von 1934 erheblich abweichen.

<sup>2</sup> Es ist ihm "die seltene Gelegenheit, die Sprache im Stück, gewissermaßen mit dem Auge des Bildhauers zu fassen und an ihr als einem Körper zu arbeiten. Auf diese Weise hoffe ich noch ein wenig schärfer zu treffen, was den Leser vielleicht fesselte. Zunächst soll an Abstrichen nicht gespart werden, und sodann das so Gewonnene aus dem Vorrat ergänzt werden. Auch sind einige verbotene Stücke nachzutragen, die ich damals zurücklegte—denn was die Gewürze betrifft, so gewinnt man erst im Laufe der Zeit die sichere Hand." ("Das abenteuerliche Herz. Figuren und Capriccios." Zweite Fassung. Hamburg 1938, p. 8. Die erste Fassung, mit dem Untertitel "Aufzeichnungen bei Tag und Nacht," erschien 1929 in Berlin.)—Wir verwenden die Abkürzungen: AH (1) und AH (2).

Verständnis des Werkes Ernst Jüngers. Es ist das Verdienst Gerhard Nebels,<sup>3</sup> als erster auf diese Tatsache hingewiesen zu haben. Seine Überzeugungen stützen sich auf AH(1); sie bleiben unerschüttert nach Einsicht in das umgearbeitete Buch. Brocks eingehende Untersuchungen gehen von der grundsätzlichen inhaltlichen Identität der beiden Fassungen aus. Descombis<sup>4</sup> weist nicht einmal auf die Existenz der beiden Ausgaben hin und zitiert ohne jeden Hinweis, und noch dazu salopp, bald aus AH(1) und bald aus AH(2). Auch Paetel<sup>5</sup> weiss um die beiden Fassungen, und auch ihm erwächst aus dieser Kenntnis kein Problem. Diese Übersicht könnte auf die zahlreichen Aufsätze über Ernst Jünger und sein Werk ausgedehnt werden, das Resultat bliebe dasselbe: Die entscheidende Bedeutung eines Buches wird allgemein anerkannt. Von dem Vorhandensein seiner beiden Fassungen wird Kenntnis genommen und auf ihrer grundsätzlichen Identität bestanden. Es scheint an der Zeit, den Schritt von Behauptung zu Beweis zu tun. Die Tatsache allein, dass von AH(1) nur etwa ein Sechstel des Materials in AH(2) eingeht, fordert ihn geradezu.

Den äusseren Eindruck von der Umarbeit, der Jünger sein Buch unterwarf, vermittelt die Gegenüberstellung der beiden Fassungen. Es ist vor auszuschicken, dass "Das abenteuerliche Herz" eine Sammlung von Essays<sup>6</sup> ist. Für AH(2) stimmt unsere Anordnung der Essays mit der von Jünger bestimmten überein. AH(1) ist so gegenübergestellt, dass Umstellungen, Ausgliederungen und Abstriche deutlich werden. Aus Gründen besserer Übersichtlichkeit sind die Essays numeriert und in runde Klammern gesetzt worden: 25 in AH(1) und 63 in AH(2). Die Zahlen in eckigen Klammern beziehen sich auf Ausgliederungen:

<sup>3</sup> "Versuch über Ernst Jünger," in: "Feuer und Wasser." 2. veränderte Auflage. Hamburg 1941.

<sup>4</sup> Erich Brock, "Das Weltbild Ernst Jüngers. Darstellung und Deutung." Zürich 1945. Marcel Descombis, "Ernst Jünger. L'homme et l'oeuvre jusqu'en 1936." Paris 1943.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Paetel, "Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten." New York 1946, und "Ernst Jünger. Weg und Wirkung." Stuttgart 1949.

<sup>6</sup> Die Bezeichnung "Essay" kann auf AH (1) nur mit Einschränkungen angewendet werden.



# ERNST JÜNGERS KAMPF UM DIE FORM 3

Das abenteuerliche Herz. Aufzeichnungen bei Tag und Nacht. Frundsberg Verlag. Berlin 1929. 263 S.

Das abenteuerliche Herz. Figuren und Capriccios. Zweite Fassung. Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt. Hamburg 1938. 229 S.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (23) H... und<br>Berlin p. 193-225 [cf. p. 222]..                 | (1) Die Tigerlilie—Steglitz p. 5                              |
|   | (2) Fliegende Fische—Steglitz p. 5-6                          |
| (3) Berlin p. 10-11 .....   | (3) Flugträume—Stralau p. 6-7                                 |
| (4) Leipzig p. 12-13 .....  | (4) Die Kiesgrube—Goslar p. 7-9                               |
| (5) Berlin p. 14-15 .....   | (5) Zur Kristallographie—Überlingen p. 9-11                   |
| (6) Berlin p. 16-19 .....   | (6) Violette Endivien—Steglitz p. 11-12                       |
| (8) Berlin p. 64 .....  | (7) Im Blindenviertel—Überlingen p. 12-14                     |
| (10) Leipzig p. 67-68 .....                                       | (8) Das Entsetzen—Berlin p. 15-16                             |
| (11) Berlin p. 69-84 [p. 69-70] ....                              | (9) Fremder Besuch—Leipzig p. 16-17                           |
| " " " [p. 70-72] ....   | (10) Tristram Shandy—Berlin p. 17-19                          |
| (13) Leipzig p. 94-95 .....                                       | (11) Die einsamen Wächter—Berlin p. 19-21                     |
| (14) Berlin p. 96-114 [p. 96-103, 114] .....                      | (12) Blaue Nattern—Berlin Osthafen p. 22                      |
| (11) Berlin p. 69-84 [cf. p. 76] ....                             | (13) Die Klosterkirche—Leipzig p. 22-24                       |
| (17) Neapel p. 121-148 [p. 141-142]..                             | (14) Die Überzeugung—Berlin p. 24-25                          |
|   | (15) Der Hauptschlüssel—Berlin p. 25-26                       |
|   | (16) Der kombinatorische Schluss—Berlin p. 26-28              |
|   | (17) Der schwarze Ritter—Leipzig p. 29-30                     |
| (17) Neapel p. 121-148 [p. 121-123, 129-130, 132-134] .....       | (18) Der stereoskopische Genuss—Berlin p. 30-34               |
| (22) Berlin p. 191-192 .....                                      | (19) Die Schleife—Leipzig p. 34-38                            |
| (23) H.... und  | (20) In den Kaufläden, 1—Goslar p. 38-45                      |
| Berlin p. 193-230 [p. 223-224]..                                  | (21) Rot und Grün—Goslar p. 45-46                             |
| (24) Berlin p. 231-259 [p. 231-232]..                             | (22) Aus den Strandstücken, 1—Neapel p. 46-48                 |
| (18) Zinnowitz p. 149-156 .....                                   | (23) Aus dem Guckkasten—Berlin p. 48-53                       |
| (15) Leisnig p. 115-118 .....                                     | (24) Der Oberförster—Goslar p. 53-58                          |
|   | (25) Der Erfinder—Überlingen p. 58-59                         |
|   | (26) Das Beschwerdebuch—Leipzig p. 60                         |
|   | (27) In den Treibhäusern—Dahlem p. 61-62                      |
| (7) Leipzig p. 20-63 [cf. p. 60; (20), p. 178; (23), p. 203, 204] | (28) Frutti di mare—Neapel p. 62-68                           |
| (9) Leipzig p. 65-66 .....  | (29) Der Strandgang—Berlin p. 68-70                           |
| (24) Berlin p. 230-259 [cf. p. 242]..                             | (30) Das Lied der Maschinen—Berlin p. 70-72                   |
|   | (31) Grausame Bücher—Berlin p. 72-77                          |
|   | (32) Aus den Strandstücken, 2—Zinnowitz p. 77-79              |
|   | (33) Liebe und Wiederkunft—Leisnig p. 79-83                   |
|   | (34) Die rote Farbe—Goslar p. 83-89                           |
| (7) Leipzig p. 20-63 [cf. p. 51] .....                            | (35) An der Abzucht—Goslar p. 89-90                           |
|   | (36) Fortunas Unkraut—Leipzig p. 91-95                        |
|   | (37) Zum Raskolnikow—Goslar p. 95-100                         |
|   | (38) In den Wirtschaftsräumen—Goslar p. 100-101               |
|   | (39) Die Phosphorfliege—Goslar p. 101-103                     |
|   | (40) Historia in nuce: Die Ergänzung—Goslar p. 103-105        |
|   | (41) Die Zinnia—Überlingen p. 105-110                         |
|   | (42) Aus den Zeitungen—Stralau p. 110-113                     |
|   | (43) Anschaulicher Skeptizismus—Steglitz p. 113-117           |
|   | (44) Skrupulanten und Posaunisten—Überlingen p. 117-121       |
|   | (45) Aus den Strandstücken, 3—Helgoland p. 121-123            |
|   | (46) Zur Desinvoltüre—Goslar p. 124-128                       |
|   | (47) Historia in nuce: Der verlorene Posten—Goslar p. 128-132 |

	(48) Die Vexierbilder—Überlingen	p. 132-138
	(49) Der Grünspecht—Überlingen	p. 139-142
	(50) Mut und Übermut—An Bord	p. 142-145
	(51) In den Museen—Überlingen	p. 145-153
(19) Paris	p. 157-170 [cf. p. 167, 168] (52) An der Zollstation—Überlingen	p. 153-156
	(53) Das Rotschwänzchen—Überlingen	p. 157-164
	(54) Balearische Gänge—Puerto Pollensa Illa D'Or	p. 164-167
	(55) Der Hippopotamus—Überlingen	p. 167-187
	(56) Die Aprikose—Genf	p. 188-196
	(57) Der Überfluss—Überlingen	p. 197-202
	(58) In den Kaufläden, 2—Goslar	p. 202-206
	(59) Die blaue Farbe—Überlingen	p. 206-209
	(60) Der schwarze Sey—Bergen	p. 209-212
	(61) Historia in nuce: Das Glücksrad— An Bord	p. 212-223
	(62) Das Echo der Bilder—Rio	p. 223-225
	(63) Der Fischhändler—Ponta Delgada	p. 225-226

Einsicht in die Umarbeit erlaubt die folgenden Feststellungen:

- 1) Der Untertitel ist geändert. Cf. "Aufzeichnungen bei Tag und Nacht" und "Figuren und Capriccios."
- 2) Allen Essays wurden Überschriften vorangestellt. (Die Ortsnamen zeigen an, wo die Niederschrift erfolgte.)
- 3) Von den 25 Essays der ersten Fassung wurden nach stilistischer Durcharbeit nur acht in AH(2) übernommen:
  - a) (3) Berlin = (8) Das Entsetzen; b) (4) Leipzig = (9) Fremder Besuch; c) (5) Berlin = (10) Tristram Shandy; d) (6) Berlin = (11) Die einsamen Wächter; e) (8) Berlin = (12) Blaue Nattern; f) (10) Leipzig = (14) Die Klosterkirche; g) (13) Leipzig = (17) Der schwarze Ritter; h) (22) Berlin = (29) Der Strandgang.
- 4) Zwei Essays wurden erweitert und stilistisch durchgearbeitet:
  - a) (9) Leipzig, p. 65-66 = (36) Fortunas Unkraut, p. 91-95; b) (15) Leisnig, p. 115-118 = (33) Liebe und Wiederkehr, p. 79-83.
- 5) Ein Essay wurde gekürzt und stilistisch durchgearbeitet:
  - (18) Zinnowitz, p. 149-156 = (32) Aus den Strandstücken, 2, p. 77-79.
- 6) Aus fünf Essays der ersten Fassung wurden sieben für AH(2) ausgegliedert, teilweise ergänzt und stilistisch durchgearbeitet. Diese Ausgliederungen bedeuten gleichzeitig beachtliche Abstriche (104 Seiten).

Somit gehen auf a) (11) Berlin, in (14) Die Überzeugung und (15) Der Hauptschlüssel; b) (14) Berlin, in (18) Der stereoskopische Genuss; c) (17) Neapel, in (28) Frutti di mare und (22) Aus den Strandstücken; d) (23) H... und Berlin, in (30) Das Lied der Maschinen; e) (24) Berlin, in (31) Grausame Bücher.

- 7) Aus sechs Essays der ersten Fassung wurden Gedanken und Motive ausgegliedert und in AH(2) entwickelt. Auch hierbei sind wieder die Abstriche beachtlich, die sich, bei Vermeidung von Duplikation, auf 72 Seiten belaufen. So werden Teile von (7) in (35) und (39) hineinverarbeitet, Teile von (11) in (19), Teile von (19) in (52), Teile von (23) in (3) usw., wie sich schon aus der obigen Tafel ablesen läßt.
- 8) Sechs Essays der ersten Fassung wurden völlig gestrichen (26 Seiten):
  - (1) Berlin, p. 5-6; (2) Leipzig, p. 7-9; (12) Berlin, p. 85-93; (16) Leipzig, p. 119-120; (21) Berlin, p. 185-190; (25) Berlin, p. 260-263.

Diese Übersicht der beiden Fassungen erhellt sowohl den ausserordentlichen Umfang der Abstriche (ungefähr 220 Seiten von 262) als auch die weitgehende Umstellung des gewährten Materials.

Nicht weniger aufschlussreich ist eine inhaltliche Prüfung dieser Abstriche:

- 1) Das Material, das in die zwischen 1929 und 1938 erschienenen Werke aufging, wurde von AH(2) ausgeschlossen. Folgende Werke kommen in Frage:
  - a) "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." Hamburg 1932. In dieses Buch gingen Erwägungen und Untersuchungen ein, die in den Essays (11), (12), (14) und (17)-(21) der ersten Fassung des "Abenteuerlichen Herzens" enthalten sind.
  - b) "Blätter und Steine." Hamburg 1934. In dieser Sammlung von Essays erscheint "Lob der Vokale." "In einer der stenographischen Notizen vom "Abenteuerlichen Herz" "

<sup>7</sup> Jünger bezieht sich auf AH (1), p. 107 f.—Dies ist das erste Anzeichen für Jüngers Interesse an sprachlichen Erscheinungen. "Lob der Vokale" wird umgearbeitet für die zweite Auflage der "Blätter und Steine" (1941)

haben wir die Bedeutung der Vokale gestreift. Sie stellt den Keimling der folgenden Betrachtung dar" (p. 47). Auch zum Essay "Über den Schmerz" und zum "Epigrammatischen Anhang" hat AH(1) beigesteuert, wie auch der "Mann vom Monde" hier zum ersten Male in Erscheinung tritt (cf. den Versuch "Sizilischer Brief an den Mann im Mond").

- c) "Afrikanische Spiele." Hamburg 1936. Die Lockung der Geheimnisse und Gefahren des dunklen Erdteils wird in den Essays (7) und (17) der ersten Fassung beschrieben. "Afrikanische Spiele" ist der autobiographische Roman der missglückten Flucht aus Schule und Elternhaus in die französische Fremdenlegion.
- 2) In Beiträgen für Zeitschriften wie "Arminius," "Die Standarte," "Das Reich," "Der Widerstand" und "Das Tagebuch" nahm Jünger bis zum Jahre 1932 an der politischen Tagespolemik teil. Soweit sie auch in AH(1) Eingang gefunden hatte, wurde sie gestrichen: Kritik an der deutschen Revolution von 1918, der "Steckrübenrevolte" (23); an dem Autoritätsbewusstsein des 4. Standes (17); am verbürgerlichten deutschen Kommunismus (24); an Pazifismus und Sozialismus (23); am lauen Nationalismus des Bürgertums (19); am Humanitätsgedanken und den Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts (23).
- 3) Ebenso radikal verfährt die Feder mit blossen Niederschlägen einer sehr umfangreichen Lektüre. AH(2) ist fast vollkommen frei von "Lesefrüchten." AH(1) enthüllt Jünger als westlich orientierten Geist. Dante, Ariost, Cervantes und die Franzosen des 19. Jahrhunderts erfahren bedeutende Anteilnahme. Vor allem aber sind es Gestalten wie Hamann, Swedenborg, Novalis und Nietzsche, die Jünger immer wieder in den Kreis seiner Betrachtungen zieht.<sup>8</sup>
- 4) Der Zug der Versachlichung, der sich schon im Auslassen von Polemik und Bildungserlebnis äusserte, wird weiterhin durch

und wiederabgedruckt in "Geheimnisse der Sprache." (1941) Schliesslich veröffentlicht Jünger "Sprache und Körperbau." Zürich 1947.

<sup>8</sup> Die Aufhellung der Bildungserlebnisse wäre eine interessante Aufgabe, obwohl es geistige Eigenständigkeit und Eigenwilligkeit sicherlich unmöglich machen, Jüngers Stellung im Gradnetz geistiger Einflüsse aufzuzeigen.

Abstrich alles Persönlichen und Autobiographischen verstärkt. So fallen (1): die persönliche Rechtfertigung für das Unternehmen des "abenteuerlichen Herzens"; (2): weltanschauliche Notizen; Teile von (17) und (19): Jugenderinnerungen; die Seiten, die Autobiographisches der Nachkriegszeit enthalten: Tätigkeit bei der Reichswehr (21), Bericht über akademisches Studium und Pläne für eine Afrikareise (17), die Gründe für das Abstehen von politischer Tätigkeit (18), Reminiszenzen über den Krieg während eines Fluges über die Schlachtfelder des ersten Weltkrieges (19) und Bemerkungen zum Studium der Rauschzustände, dessen sich Jünger in jenen Jahren unterwarf (23).

- 5) Alle Betrachtungen zum Phänomen des Abenteurers werden gestrichen. Sie knüpfen sich an Darstellungen des abenteuerlichen Lebens und durchziehen AH(1) wie ein laufendes Kommentar (cf. (7), (11), (14), (17)-(20), (23)-(25)). Diese Abstriche sind bei weitem die interessantesten und bedeutungsvollsten: Sie sind als eine Art Parerga und Paralipomena zum eingehenderen Verständnis der zweiten Fassung beinahe unerlässlich. Darstellung und Analyse dieser Beiträge zu einer Theorie des Abenteurers würde jedoch den Rahmen dieses Artikels sprengen und muss daher einer besonderen Arbeit vorbehalten bleiben. Diese—und alle anderen—Abstriche werden durch material Darstellungen des Lebens im Abenteuer ersetzt. Dem Abenteuertum sind neue Sphären der Erprobung und Bewährung erschlossen worden. Der Leser der zweiten Fassung wird in diese neuen Sphären geleitet, sieht sich dabei aber auf sich gestellt. Die Handhaben zu Orientierung und Verständnis sind ihm weitgehendst verweigert. AH(2) ist, verglichen mit AH(1), erweiterter Text ohne Kommentar. Es handelt sich jedoch nicht nur um einen erweiterten, sondern auch einen revidierten Text. AH(2) verwendet umsichtig die Mittel der sprachlichen Tarnung und der stilistischen Maskierung. So wird "Das abenteuerliche Herz" recht eigentlich seinem Wesen gerecht. Der Abenteurer, in dem sich das Gefühl individueller Stärke und das Bewusstsein der Schutzlosigkeit mischen, sucht sich durch Verkleidung zu schützen: Maske<sup>9</sup> ist ihm recht und notwendig zur Sicherung und Bewahrung seines Geheimnisses.

<sup>9</sup> Als stützender Hinweis: Die Maskenschnitzerepisode und die Bemerkungen zur Maske in AH(1) werden gestrichen. Cf. p. 193 ff.



Diese Bemerkungen führen schon in die Gründe, die Jünger zu den Abstrichen veranlasst haben mögen. Wiederholung war zu vermeiden nach der Veröffentlichung des "Arbeiters," der "Blätter und Steine" und der "Afrikanischen Spiele." Die politische und ästhetische Tagespolemik hatte sich erledigt. Das Abenteuer kann für sich selbst sprechen, ohne Präsentierung dessen, der es begeht. Nur so auch konnte der Schein der Unbeteiligung, der Sachlichkeit, erweckt werden als notwendiges Gegengewicht zu der maximalen Subjektivität des Inhalts. Aus ästhetischer Ökonomie fielen Arrangements aus Lese Früchten und anderem Bildungsgut. Die Theorie des Abenteurers wurde gestrichen, weil der Künstler nicht auch gleichzeitig sein eigener Glossator sein soll: "Wer sich selbst kommentiert, geht unter sein Niveau."<sup>10</sup>

Schliesslich war auch die Form des Essays schärfer zu fassen. Es wurde schon bemerkt, dass die Bezeichnung Essay nur mit Einschränkung auf die "Aufzeichnungen" der ersten Fassung anzuwenden ist. Ein äusseres Zeichen dafür, dass eine eindeutige Form noch nicht gefunden war, ist die ausserordentlich verschiedene Länge der Essays: Die Seitenzahl schwankt zwischen 1 und 44. Die sehr unterschiedliche Länge wäre durchaus annehmbar, hätte sie sich notwendig aus den Gestaltungsansprüchen ergeben. Jünger folgte jedoch keineswegs künstlerischer Notwendigkeit, wenn er gewisse Essays durch Einschluss von Reminiszenz und polemischer Stellungnahme, von unverarbeitetem Material ("stenographische Notizen") und "exegetischen" Erörterungen erweiterte. Dies wurde als unnötige, ja gefährliche Belastung erkannt. Radikaler Abstrich schuf die notwendige Abhilfe. AH(2) erlaubt den Schluss, dass Jünger in der Kürze ein konstituierendes Element des Essays des "abenteuerlichen Herzens" erkannte. Die Essays, die aus AH(1) übernommen wurden, umfassen zwischen zwei und vier Seiten. Der Umfang der neuen Essays überschreitet nur in zwei Fällen zehn Seiten. Jünger besteht darauf, dass der Charakter des Abenteurers sich auch in der Form ausspreche: in Kürze, Ballung und rascher Aufgipfelung. Die Darstellung dämmt den Fluss des Geschehens und erweckt so den Eindruck gesammelter Kraft und gesteigerter Intensität.

Die beiden Fassungen stellen die Entwicklung von der dehnbaren "Aufzeichnung" zum straffen Essay dar. Es sind nun zwei Arten

<sup>10</sup> "Blätter und Steine." 1934. p. 226.

von Essay, in denen sich das Abenteuer ausspricht: die "Figur" und das "Capriccio." "Capriccios" sind "nächtliche Scherze, die der Geist ohne Regung wie in einer einsamen Loge, doch nicht ohne Gefährdung genießt," und "in denen sich die Ausschweifung des menschlichen Geistes gefällt."<sup>11</sup> Die "Figuren" hingegen sind wie "runde Granite, die in den Gletschermühlen geschliffen sind, an Punkten hoher Aussicht, an denen die Welt ein wenig kleiner, aber auch klarer und regelmässiger, wie auf gestochenen Landkarten erscheint, denn die hohe Ordnung ist im Mannigfaltigen wie in einem Vexierbild versteckt."<sup>12</sup>

Im "Capriccio" spricht sich das Lebensgefühl des Abenteurers aus, das Erlebnis der Welt im Abenteuer, während die "Figur" die plastisch-symbolische Darstellung einer Erkenntnis, ein materialer Beitrag zu einer Metaphysik des Abenteurers ist. "Capriccios" sind Darstellungen der "Anarchie des Herzens," eines "Lebens, das seine eigenen Herzstücke verzehrt"<sup>13</sup> und "Figuren" sind Gestaltungen des Lebens, das im Grunde als abenteuerlich erkannt wird. Capriccio als auch Figur finden sich schon in AH(1), sie sind jedoch oft noch eingeschlossen und verdeckt im Konglomerat von Reminiszenz, Polemik und Notiz. In AH(2) stehen Capriccio und Figur klar und deutlich beieinander: Den Darstellungen des Dranges des "abenteuerlichen Herzens" folgen seine Leistungen. Die Umarbeit Jüngers erweist sich auch darin, dass er durchgängig das Abenteuer (grenzenloses Leben im Ohnmass) im kurzen Essay, man möchte sagen: in Kabinetiform, gestaltet. Der Abenteurer, der eine unableitbare "Attitüde zu Welt und Leben" verkörpert, ist romantischen Geistes. Jünger besteht aber darauf, dass dieser Geist sich diszipliniere, sich in geschlossener, ja klassischer Form ausspreche. In AH(1) findet sich der Ausdruck "preussischer Anarchismus." Dieser Ausdruck bezeichnet auch das Bemühen, das in AH(2) eingegangen ist: Die Unabhängigkeit zu binden.

Die Disziplin der Form, die sich Jünger auferlegte, erstreckte sich notwendig auch auf die Sprache. Die Durcharbeit folgt dem allgemeinen Zug auf Vereinfachung und Versachlichung. Für Pracht und Protz, für Überraschung, für rhetorische Fragen ist in AH(2) nicht mehr Platz. Gestrichen werden Sätze wie "das Leben, das seine eigenen Herzstücke verzehrt," "Drängt nicht auch

<sup>11</sup> AH(2), p. 8, 151 f.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> AH(1), p. 136, 151.

in uns das ewige Tier mit Ungestüm aus dem Dickicht?" oder "Welche Sprache ist frei vom Arbeitsgeruch des Gefühlstransports?" Gleich unduldsam ist Jünger gegen sprachliche Lässigkeit: so tritt an Stelle des "reaktiven" Beiworts (geheimnisvoll, seltsam, wunderbar), das beschreibende und gestaltende.<sup>14</sup> Der Stil wird entpersönlicht durch Vermeidung des Pronomens in der 1. Person. So entfallen Wendungen wie "ich glaube," "es macht mir Vergnügen," "zufällig habe ich," wohl auch, weil sie schwerfällig und inhaltlich unergiebig sind.

Das Anliegen, das sich in diesen Änderungen ausspricht, ist jedoch nicht nur Versachlichung und erhöhte Anschaulichkeit. Es soll aber auch getarnt und der Zugang zum Geheimnis des Abenteuers erschwert werden. In den "einsamen Wächtern" heisst es ursprünglich: "Ich hege einen Verdacht, der die Grenzen der Gewissheit streift. . . ." An Stelle dessen tritt: "Zu den Dingen, die Nigromontanus mich lehrte. . . ." In AH(1): (8), (9), (10), (13) wurde die Natur des abenteuerlichen Erlebnisses bezeichnet. In AH(2) ist es dem Leser überlassen, sie als Träume zu erkennen und zu verstehen.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat gezeigt, dass das Buch vom "Abenteuerlichen Herzen" radikaler Durchsicht und Umarbeitung unterworfen wurde. Es handelt sich um eine Revision, die sich auf Inhalt, Form und Sprache erstreckt. Die bedeutendsten Abstriche ergaben sich aus einer eindeutigeren Fassung des thematischen Anliegens: eine materiale Philosophie des Abenteuers zu liefern. Daher hatten Kommentar und "Exegetik" in AH(2) keinen Platz. Diese Abstriche—und alle weiteren—werden durch Darstellung des Lebens im Abenteuer ersetzt. Die Form, die solchem Inhalt am klarsten entspricht, wurde im kurzen Essay erkannt. Seine fast durchgängige Verwendung in AH(2) ergab Einheitlichkeit des Inhalts als auch der Form. Die sprachlichen Änderungen zielen einerseits auf Versachlichung und andererseits auf Verhüllung.

Trotz radikaler Umarbeitung des Buches vom "Abenteuerlichen Herzen" ist die entscheidende Identität der beiden Fassungen gewahrt: beide liefern einen Beitrag zur Philosophie des Aben-

<sup>14</sup> "Zu erstreben ist, dass der Gegenstand durch die Feder wie durch einem Pinsel getroffen wird." "Blätter und Steine," 1934, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> (AH(1), p. 16 und AH(2), p. 19.

teuers: AH(1) noch abschweifig und erläuternd, AH(2) umfassend und in sich geschlossen.<sup>1a</sup>

GERHARD LOOSE

University of Colorado

### THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE NOTBROWNE MAYDE

The *Notbrowne Mayde*, intercalated by Richard Arnold in the *Customs of London* (ca. 1502),<sup>1</sup> resists comparison with the extant verse of the fifteenth century, avoiding both the tedious preciousness of *vers de société* and the boisterous directness of popular song. No doubt, as a consequence of this circumstance, rather diverse views of the origin of the lively dialogue have been expressed. Francis Douce, who reprinted the work in 1811, conjectured that the source was German,<sup>2</sup> but a European original has yet to be discovered. Thomas Percy included the *Mayde* in the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765),<sup>3</sup> although, as Gummere remarked,<sup>4</sup> it "has

<sup>1a</sup> Franz Schonauer, "Die beiden Fassungen von Ernst Jünger: *Das abenteuerliche Herz*. Versuch einer Darstellung der Gestaltungsunterschiede mit den Mitteln der Textvergleichung." Diss. Bonn 1947. Diese Arbeit wurde mir erst bekannt, nachdem dieser Aufsatz abgeschlossen und zum Teil schon gesetzt war. Die Durchsicht ergab, dass Schonauers Absichten und Ergebnisse sich wesentlich von meinen unterscheiden: Vier Fünftel der Dissertation sind dem philologischen Teil der Textvergleichung gewidmet, der Rest der Erörterung der Unterschiede in der literarischen Form ("Aufzeichnung" in der ersten und "Figur" und "Capriccio" in der zweiten Fassung). Auch wurde erwogen, dass Schonauers Arbeit nur in Maschinenschrift vorliegt, so praktisch unzugänglich ist und dass daher die relativ geringfügigen Wiederholungen kaum ins Gewicht fallen.

<sup>1</sup> The book is perhaps better known as Arnold's *Chronicle*; it may have been published in 1503—see *Camb. Biblio. of Eng. Lit.*, I, 823.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Skeat (ed.), *Specimens of English Literature* (6th ed.; Oxford, 1892), p. 407, rejects Douce's contention that the source was a German translation of a Latin poem, *Vulgaris Cantio*. For analogues and discussions, see W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England* (London, 1864-6), II, 271-2; E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics* (London, 1926), p. 335; and F. L. Utley, *The Crooked Rib* (Columbus, O., 1944), pp. 114-5.

<sup>3</sup> See J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (eds.), *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript* (London, 1868), III, 174 ff.

<sup>4</sup> F. B. Gummere, "Ballads," *CHEL*, II, 463.

not the faintest claim" to classification as popular verse. The resemblance of the poem to the "testing" ballads *Child Waters* and the *Fair Flower of Northumberland* implies no direct relation; the Griselda motif is commonplace. More recently, the *Mayde* has been described by Berdan as "an epitome of Medieval Latin influence,"<sup>5</sup> largely on the basis of its unusual metrical arrangement, for which there is some Latin precedent. However, this hypothesis neither establishes a likely connection nor disposes of antecedent Middle English verse which accounts in a general way for the form and matter of the *Notbrowne Mayde*.

For Berdan, physical resemblances are presumptive evidence of the dependence of much transition poetry upon medieval Latin metrical patterns:<sup>6</sup>

When the forms used by the English poets between Lydgate and Wyatt are examined, these same characteristics [as exhibited by Latin verse] are to be found. Aside from the rime-royal, the "Monk's Tale" stanza and the heroic couplet, . . . poetic forms are marked by short lines and simple rime-schemes. While all these are not necessarily borrowed from the Medieval Latin [as represented in *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, which is Berdan's chief authority], it is worthy of notice that the majority are to be found discussed in the Medieval Latin treatises. Of these in the English the popular forms are aab-ccb, aab-ccd, aaab-cccb, and aaab-cccd for lyrics. . . . To illustrate the extent to which the English stanza-forms are taken from the Medieval Latin. . . .

The arrangement of the *Notbrowne Mayde* is, then, according to medieval poetic, "iambic dimeters, iambic trimeter differentia," with the "differentiae" four times rhymed;<sup>7</sup> but for the practicing poet of the fifteenth century, the stanza was hardly more than modified common measure. Whatever the merits of the general theory which explains late Middle English versification in terms of Latin models, the *Mayde* at least appears to be the culmination of a prosodic tendency manifest in English verse no later than the first decade of the fourteenth century, and possibly earlier.

Whether a further development of *rime couée*,<sup>8</sup> a "fourteener"

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry* (1485-1547) (New York, 1920), p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156. On the preceding page, Berdan supposes that the poet was "familiar with the Medieval Latin treatises."

<sup>8</sup> Jakob Schipper, *Englische Metrik* (Bonn, 1881-8), I, 365-7.



split in the octosyllabic section by rhyme,<sup>9</sup> or even a direct borrowing from Latin, the metrical arrangement of the *Notbrowne Mayde* was by no means new at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The possibility of indebtedness to the Latin is not strong, although a comparable pattern was noticed by Schipper in a thirteenth century collection:<sup>10</sup>

O Fortuna, velut luna  
statu variabilis,  
semper crescis aut decrescis;  
vita detestabilis . . .

The resemblance of the Latin pattern to that of the *Mayde* is striking:<sup>11</sup>

Be it right, or wrong, these men among  
On women do complaine,  
Afferming this, how that it is  
A labour spent in vaine,  
To love them wele, for never a dele  
They love a man againe;  
For lete a man do what he can,  
Ther favour to attaine,  
Yet if a newe to them pursue,  
Ther furst trew lover than  
Laboureth for nought, and from her thought  
He is a banished man.

st. 1

A clear demonstration of tripartite segmentation of the septenary appears in a lyric of MS. Harley 2253. The first stanza of *De Clerico et Puella* has, moreover, two instances of internal rhyme, which in the *Mayde* is a metrical principle:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody* (2d ed.; London, 1923), I, 257.

<sup>10</sup> *Carmina Burana*, ed. J. A. Schmeller (4th ed.; Breslau, 1904), p. 1. Here and elsewhere when necessary, I have taken the liberty of printing the couplets in a single line, to save space and to facilitate comparison. Schipper, *op. cit.*, p. 366, cites examples from Provençal and French also.

<sup>11</sup> Chambers and Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. W. W. Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff., prints each stanza as six septenaries, which clearly suggest the origin of the pattern.

<sup>12</sup> Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 12-14. Carleton Brown (ed.), *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 152-4, prints the poem in quatrains, an arrangement amply justified by the rhyme. However, the incipient division is better shown by the arrangement used here.

My deth I love, my lyf ich hate,  
 For a levedy shene;  
 Heo is briht so daies liht,  
 That is on me wel sene.  
 Al I falewe so doth the lef  
 In somer when hit is grene;  
 Yef mi thoht helpeth me noht,  
 To wham shal I me mene?

One of the first fully developed examples of internal rhyme, the *Moral Poem*,<sup>13</sup> notable for its curious "E. I. O." refrain, has virtually the same stanza pattern as the *Mayde*. As Saintsbury suggests,<sup>14</sup> this religious lyric may be considerably older than the Thornton MS. (ca. 1440), in which it appears. Each stanza is composed of six septenaries rhyming aaaabb, with the octosyllabic portion of the long line divided by rhyme. This poem then clearly establishes the fact that the author of the *Notbrowne Mayde* had been anticipated by more than half a century. Internal rhyme as a metrical principle, moreover, had been used in the fourteenth century by Chaucer,<sup>15</sup> as Saintsbury remarks, and by the composer of a carol in MS. Advocates 18. 7. 21,<sup>16</sup> and throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by authors of carols.<sup>17</sup> Of course, not all of these examples are to be accounted for by the fracture of the septenary, but they do prove that a poet in 1500 had no need to seek models in the text books of poetics.

Even in or around 1500, when the *Mayde* was probably composed, internally rhymed poems were being written. Dunbar further complicates the scheme by rhyming the octosyllables of the *Lady Solistaris at Court*:<sup>18</sup>

Thir ladyis fair, That makis repair,  
 And in the court ar kend,  
 Thre dayis thair, Thay will do mair,  
 Ane mater for till end . . .

<sup>13</sup> G. G. Perry (ed.), *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, EETS, o. s., xxvi, rev. ed., 1889, pp. 80-3.

<sup>14</sup> Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, i, 257.

<sup>15</sup> *Anelida and Arcite*, ll. 272-80, 333-41.

<sup>16</sup> R. L. Greene (ed.), *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935), p. 193, dates the carol ca. 1372.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Nos. 45, 93, 112, 146, 150, 151, 261, 270, 271, 462, in Greene's collection.

<sup>18</sup> *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. John Small, STS, II, iv, xvi, xxi, xxix (Edinburgh, 1883-93), ii, 168 f.

The Scot was a Latinist and might have recalled the metrical prescriptions of his school books in this instance, although proof is not likely to be found. No such suspicion attaches to a popular song written on a flyleaf of MS. Trinity Cambridge 597 at about the same time:<sup>19</sup>

masteres anne, I ame your man,  
as you may well espye;  
if you will be content with me,  
I am merrie, [say I]. st. 1

Further proof that the scheme was occasionally cultivated by popular poets may be taken, with some hesitation, from the ballads, which have been fairly trustworthy guardians of ancient conventions. Isolated quatrains, such as the following from *Johnie Cock*,<sup>20</sup>

O bows of yew, if ye be true,  
In London, where ye were bought,  
Fingers five, get up belive,  
Manhuid shall fail me nought, A, st. 18

are not uncommon; but the most striking specimen is the *Grey Cock*, which, with the exception of one stanza, depends upon the three-part septenary:<sup>21</sup>

It's now ten at night, and the stars gie nae light,  
And the bells they ring ding, dang;  
He's met wi some delay that causeth him to stay,  
But he will be here ere lang. [st. 2]

These examples do not suggest a continuous tradition; rather they should be regarded as the products of a natural prosodic tendency, which any poet using common measure may hit upon. Hence, the internally rhymed refrain of the *Ballad of Jesse James*<sup>22</sup> need not be traced to medieval Latin treatises.

The subject of the *Notbrowne Mayde* is the worth of woman-kind, and the form a debate. That it was designed as a dramatic representation before a polite audience appears from the third

<sup>19</sup> W. W. Skeat (ed.), *The Romans of Partenay*, EETS, o. s., xxii, rev. ed., 1899, p. vi.

<sup>20</sup> Child, *Ballads*, III, 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 390. Anapestic rhythm has here, as in many modern ballads, practically replaced the iambic.

<sup>22</sup> B. A. Botkin (ed.), *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), p. 108.

stanza, and Chambers conjectures that it may "have been recited by two minstrels in a baronial hall, as a kind of *estриф*."<sup>23</sup> Berdan describes the dialogue as a *conflictus*,<sup>24</sup> but this term might better be reserved for encounters involving abstractions,<sup>25</sup> like the debates between the body and the soul, the heart and the eye, the wine and the water, summer and winter, which are represented both in Latin and in the European vernaculars.<sup>26</sup> The preliminary agreement of the interlocutors to adjudge of the integrity of women through a rehearsal of the experiences of the "Nutbroune maide" is an unusual though nonetheless effective introductory device; otherwise, the poem agrees in outline with the general type. Two Middle English debates must be accounted precursors of Arnold's poem, though these had no more influence on the *Mayde* than the "testing" ballads. The thirteenth century debate, *The Thrush and the Nightingale*,<sup>27</sup> of MS. Digby 86, deals with the woman question, and in the end the thrush is won over to the feminist point of view by the nightingale. A comparable handling of the familiar theme is the *Misogynic Nightingale*,<sup>28</sup> a fifteenth century debate, although in this instance the antifeminist bird unequivocally rejects the arguments of his opposite, a clerk.

In view of the universality of the debate and the widespread interest in the *querelle des femmes*,<sup>29</sup> it seems quite unnecessary to seek foreign or learned sources for form and content any more than for prosody. As for the spirit of the *Notbrowne Mayde*, responsibility rests with a very English mind who happily avoided the worst literary faults of the transition period.

ARTHUR K. MOORE

University of Kentucky

<sup>23</sup> E. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1945), p. 121.

<sup>24</sup> Berdan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>25</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age* (2d ed.; Paris, 1904), p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> See J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1050-1400) (New Haven, 1926), pp. 411 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-7.

<sup>28</sup> J. O. Halliwell-[Phillipps], *Nugae Poeticae* (London, 1844), pp. 37-9.

<sup>29</sup> This subject has been thoroughly explored in the *Crooked Rib*, *supra*.

## SHAKESPEARE AND THOMAS MORLEY

It is generally believed that Shakespeare was acquainted with Thomas Morley, the Elizabethan composer. The extent of their association with each other is unknown, but an inquiry into the source of the gamut of Hortensio, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, III, i, reveals strong evidence that the source was Morley, or Morley's music instruction book, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, published in 1597. If this source of the gamut of Hortensio is the correct one, then such information is significant, not only for the additional illumination it sheds upon the relationship between Shakespeare and Morley, but also as a clarification of the interpretation of certain lines, as a glimpse of Shakespeare's method of composition (which is in turn a commentary on the creative methods of the time), and, finally, as some evidence that might aid in discovering the date to which Shakespeare's composition of the play, *The Taming of the Shrew*, may be assigned.

Shakespearean scholars are inclined to believe that Shakespeare and Morley, musician, teacher, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, were associated in a professional capacity if not personal friends. Sir Frederick Bridge<sup>1</sup> believes that Morley composed the music for one of Shakespeare's songs, "O Mistress Mine," from *Twelfth Night*, and that he probably wrote the music set to "It was a Lover and his Lass" from *As You Like It*. His supposition is based on the fact that the music for a song, "O Mistress Mine," appears without words in Morley's *First Book of Consort Lessons*, (1599)<sup>2</sup> and the music for another song, "It was a Lover and his Lass," in Morley's *First Book of Aires, or Little Short Songs* (1600).<sup>3</sup> Bridge also notes that these songs were written by Morley while he was living in St. Helen's Parish, Bishopsgate. As Shakespeare's name appears with Morley's on the Rolls of Assessment of St. Helen's Parish for the year 1596, Bridge concludes that they must have known each other. Shakespeare lived in St. Helen's at some date before October, 1596, but by 1599 he had ceased to do so.<sup>4</sup> Morley

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespearean Music in the Plays and Early Operas*, 19, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, *William Shakespeare*; . . . , I, 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 402.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, *William Shakespeare*; . . . , II, 87-90.



remained in Bishopsgate until 1601.<sup>5</sup> *Grove's Dictionary* agrees that

"... one may suppose that some amount of personal intercourse existed between the two, especially when it is remembered that of the very little original music for Shakespeare's plays which has survived, Morley composed one if not two songs.<sup>6</sup>

In checking Shakespeare's use of technical terms in music, it was noticed that he used the word "gamut" in only one scene, Act III, Scene i of *The Taming of the Shrew*. In this scene Hortensio, disguised as a music teacher, presents a love poem to Bianca at the beginning of her music lesson. The poem is based upon the syllables assigned to the notes of the gamut, or Elizabethan musical scale.

"Gamut, 'I am the ground of all accord,'  
A re, 'to plead Hortensio's passion;'  
B mi, 'Bianca, take him for thy lord,'  
C fa ut, 'that loves with all affection:'  
D sol re, 'onecliffe two notes have I;'  
E la mi, 'show pity or I die.'"

The gamut differs from our present solfeggio scale in that it was composed of a series of six notes, or hexachords, rather than our octave, thus making the complete gamut more complex than the present scale.<sup>7</sup> Shakespeare correctly uses the gamut and its solfeggio syllables; so some degree of technical knowledge is indicated. As there are no other allusions used by the dramatist which show other than a broad, surface knowledge of music, it would seem that this technical understanding was acquired from some source other than his general body of knowledge, i. e. from some music instruction book or from a musician acquaintance.

There were only a few music instruction books published in England before 1600, of which, so far as I know, only three treat the six-syllable gamut. There is an instruction book for the lute, Adrian Le Roy's *Introduction to the Lute* (1574), but this dealt only with lute tablature and not with sight-singing.<sup>8</sup> The 1580 edition of *The Whole Book of Psalms* by Sterneholde and Hopkins

<sup>5</sup> Bridge, *Shakespearean Music in the Plays and Early Operas*, 16, 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 519, 520.

<sup>7</sup> Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, 248.

<sup>8</sup> Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing*, 51.

contains a "Short Introduction into the Science of Music" which presents a table and instructions on the use of the gamut.<sup>9</sup> The *Stationer's Register* lists a title, *A Brief Introduction to the True Art of Musicke* (1584) by William Bathe, but the book itself has disappeared.<sup>10</sup> In 1596 two books were printed by William Barley, *The Pathway to Musicke* and *A New Book of Tabliture*.<sup>11</sup> The former has been lost,<sup>12</sup> and the only complete copy of the latter is in the British Museum. Although the title page of *A New Book of Tabliture* mentions "... other Tables plainly shewing the true use of the Scale or Gamut . . .," I am assured by Mr. A. H. King, the Assistant Keeper of the Music Room of the British Museum, that the book in question contains no material on the gamut. Finally, in 1597, Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* was published. This work discusses the gamut in detail. In fact, it has been called "the first satisfactory musical treatise published in England."<sup>13</sup>

Of the six books listed, only two dealt with the gamut based upon hexachords. These are *The Whole Book of Psalms* and the *Plaine and Easie Introduction*. . . . Upon looking into Morley's work, I was immediately struck by the close resemblance between Shakespeare's gamut and the diagram illustration used by Morley in his book.<sup>14</sup> This can best be observed if the two are placed side by side.

If we begin with "gamut" we find it the first note in Morley's scale. The syllables fall into place correspondingly with the successive ascending notes of both gamuts. Then, if the remark "one cliffe two notes have I" in Shakespeare's gamut be compared with the right hand margin of Morley's table, it will be noted that Morley writes "2 notes" opposite the notes C and D. As all the notes are in one "cliffe" or clef, with the two exceptions Morley indicates, the full phrase opposite notes C and D would actually be "2 notes, 1 cliffe." Apparently Shakespeare reversed the phrase to "one cliffe two notes" in order to make a play upon words, i. e. Hortensio disguised has one body, two characters.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 43.

<sup>10</sup> Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, 253.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

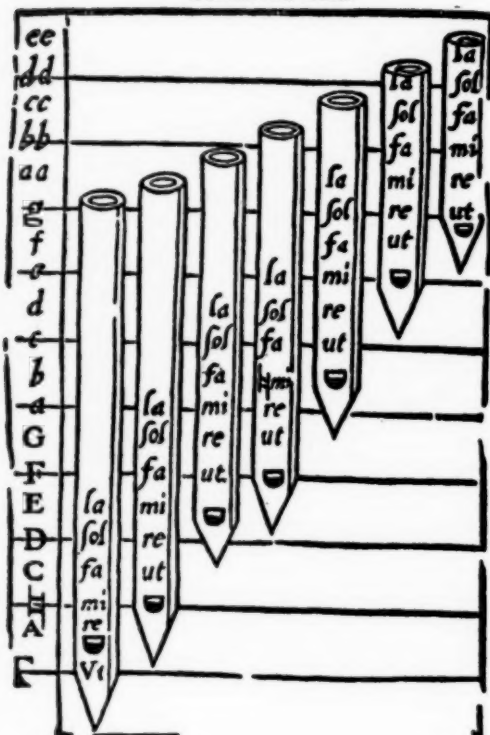
<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *D. N. B.*, XIII, 981-982.

<sup>14</sup> As reproduced in Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, 248a.





In order to check the possibility that Shakespeare might have obtained his information from the *Whole Book of Psalms*, I examined the table and a portion of the text of that book as reproduced by Steele.<sup>15</sup> (See illustration.) It will be noticed that this table

Behold this Table.



## An Introduction to learne to sing.

In this table of Gamma vt, is contain-  
ned all what is necessary to y<sup>e</sup> knowledge  
of singing: wherfore it must be diligent-  
ly waped, & must also be perfectly com-  
mitted to memo<sup>y</sup>, so that ye can redely  
and distinct<sup>ly</sup> say it without booke, both  
forward & backward, that is vplward  
and downeward. And this is the greatest  
payne that ye need to take in this trauel.

We must also note that y<sup>e</sup> letters ascen-  
ding on the left hand of the Table, are  
called Baies or Cleues, of which the first  
is a Grek letter signifying G, and is cal-  
led Gamma (of whom the whole Table  
or Scale is called the Gamma vt.) All y<sup>e</sup>  
other are Latin letters, vti. In number  
a, b, c, d, e, f, g, then repeating the same  
again beginning at a, & the third time re-  
peating the same, till ye come to ee, la,  
which is the last. But all these Wapes, are  
not signified or set in these Psalmes, but  
onely two or three most comonly, C or F  
or B, C, hath this forme or signr.   
F, is signified after this manner.   
B, hath thus,  or thus. 

The Wapes of this scale or Table, are  
diuided & set forth by thre diuers orders  
of letters. From Gamma vt, to G, sol, re,  
A.iii vi,

From Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Book of Psalms*





lacks the right-hand column of notes and "cliffes" and, in general, that it is a cruder version.

There is, of course, no way of knowing that Shakespeare obtained his knowledge of the gamut from Morley's book. He could have gotten it from Morley himself. However, the fact that Shakespeare refers to the gamut in the one scene only, and the impression that

<sup>15</sup> *The Earliest English Music Printing*, Figs. 42 and 43.

his allusions give of technical deficiency in musical knowledge, indicate that he had the written information before him as he worked on the scene. If Shakespeare did use Morley's music instruction book, then it follows that Scene i, Act III of *The Taming of the Shrew*, at least, was written after or during the year 1597.

The attempts of various editors and scholars to find an approximate date for Shakespeare's writing of *The Taming of the Shrew*

Double or Treble keyes.	cc	la	la	1 note.
	dd	la sol	sol la	2 notes.
	cc	sol fa	fa sol	2 notes.
	bb	fa mi	mi fa	2 notes, 2 clefs.
	aa	la mi re	re mi la	3 notes.
	ba	sol re ut <small>Quinta ut prima.</small>	ut re sol 	3 notes.
	ca	fa ut <small>Secunda ut octava.</small>	ut fa	2 notes.
	e	la mi	mi la	2 notes.
	d	la sol re	re sol la	3 notes.
	c	sol fa ut <small>Quinta ut secunda.</small>	ut fa sol 	3 notes.
Mean keyes.	b	fa mi	mi fa	2 notes, 2 clefs.
	a	la mi re	re mi la	3 notes.
	G	sol re ut <small>Quinta ut prima.</small>	ut re sol	3 notes.
	F	fa ut <small>Secunda ut octava.</small>	ut fa 	2 notes.
Grave or Bass keyes.	E	la mi	mi la	2 notes.
	D	sol re	re sol	2 notes.
	C	fa ut <small>Secunda ut octava.</small>	ut fa	2 notes.
	B	mi	mi	1 note.
	A	re	re	1 note.
	L	ut <small>Prima in vocem debellat.</small>	ut 	1 note.

P.M.

"The Gam," or Scale

have not met with notable success. In fact, the period of time covered by suggested dates extends from 1594 to 1607. Halliwell supports the year 1594.<sup>16</sup> Malone,<sup>17</sup> Dowden,<sup>18</sup> Gollancz,<sup>19</sup> and

<sup>16</sup> *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Preface to "The Taming of the Shrew," 419.

<sup>17</sup> *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, v, 354.

<sup>18</sup> *Shakspere, a Critical Study of his Mind and Art*, I, Preface, x.

<sup>19</sup> *Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, IV, Preface to "Taming of the Shrew," iv, v.

Bond,<sup>20</sup> assign the date 1596-97. Fleay believes the play was written some time around 1603.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Chambers accepts the early date of 1594, although he thinks the date 1598 possible.<sup>22</sup> Thus the date, as based upon the publication date of the *Plaine and Easie Introduction . . .*, supports the weight of opinion as far as the period around 1597 is concerned but is in disagreement with those who assign the play to an earlier period.

Although the material in this paper cannot be considered conclusive, certain facts have appeared which, when related, indicate that Shakespeare was indebted to Thomas Morley to a greater extent than has been generally believed. These facts are as follows: Shakespeare and Morley were neighbors in the year 1596; Morley published *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* in 1597; Morley wrote the music to two songs, one of them being "O Mistress Mine" and the other "It was a Lover and his Lass;" the resemblance between the gamut in *The Taming of the Shrew* and Morley's gamut is undeniable; the gamut of Hortensio is the only instance in which Shakespeare clearly displays a technical knowledge of music, and it is the only reference Shakespeare makes to the gamut. Therefore, it appears quite probable that Morley's music instruction book is the source of the gamut in the lute lesson of *The Taming of the Shrew*, which conclusion, if true, would mean that at least one scene of the play was written in 1597 or thereafter.

JOHN H. LONG

University of Florida

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#### TENNYSON: REVISION OF *IN MEMORIAM*, SECTION 85

At two different times Hallam Tennyson listed Section 85 as one of the earliest written sections of *In Memoriam*.<sup>1</sup> Tennyson critics have assumed his authority to be sound, but they have

<sup>20</sup> *The Arden Shakespeare*, xxx, Introduction, xlv.

<sup>21</sup> *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, 224-226.

<sup>22</sup> *William Shakespeare; A Study of Facts and Problems*, I, 327.

<sup>1</sup> Hallam Lord Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, London, 1897, 2 vols., I, 109 (*Memoir*) and Hallam Lord Tennyson, ed., *The Works of Tennyson*, Eversley Edition, London, 1907, 9 vols., III, 187 (*Eversley*).



steadily had difficulty in understanding the section as an early poem and have generally concluded that it must be early in only some of its stanzas. The discovery, then, of the early and unpublished version of the section can clarify the problem of its composition.

The early and unpublished version appears in John Moore Heath's "Commonplace Book," a manuscript preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England.<sup>2</sup> This version establishes several important facts about the composition of Section 85. As A. C. Bradley and other Tennyson scholars have surmised, the poem was not entirely early in composition, and the first stanza was divided in time from those which follow it in the final version.<sup>3</sup> But beyond this correlation with previous theory, the early form of the section is almost wholly unexpected. The original twelve stanzas are related to the thirty of the published version in the following way:

ORIGINAL	PUBLISHED
1	1
This truth came borne with bier and pall, I felt it, when I sorrowed most, 'Tis better to have loved and lost, Than never to have loved at all.	This truth came borne with bier and pall, I felt it, when I sorrow'd most, 'Tis better to have loved and lost, Than never to have loved at all—

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Heath was a college friend of Tennyson's, a member, like him, of the Cambridge Apostles group. During the time he made most of his entries in the Commonplace Book, in 1833-35, Heath was an assistant tutor of Trinity College. The two men met and corresponded often during these years of their closest friendship.

The Commonplace Book is inscribed with the date September 24, 1832. All of its Tennyson entries are in the handwriting of J. M. Heath and the MS remained in the possession of the Heath family until 1932. On July 25, 1932, it was put up for sale at Sotheby's and purchased for the Fitzwilliam Museum. (See Sotheby Catalogue of Sales, July 25-26, 1932, Item No. 291A.) The only published account of the MS is contained in an article by the poet's grandson, Sir Charles Tennyson, "Tennyson Papers: II. J. M. Heath's 'Commonplace Book.'" *Cornhill Magazine*, CLIII (1936), 426-49.

The MS also contains copies of *In Memoriam*, Sections 9, 17, 18, 19, 30 and 31. Section 9 is marked October 6, 1833, which establishes its certain date of composition only five days after Tennyson received the news of Hallam's death. Section 30 is marked Christmas Eve, 1833; the other sections are not dated in the MS. There are slight variations in form between these and the published versions of the sections, but the revisions are not comparable in importance to those of Section 85.

<sup>3</sup> See A. C. Bradley, *A Commentary on Tennyson's "In Memoriam,"* rev. ed., London, 1929, p. 14, n. 1.

ORIGINAL

PUBLISHED

2

*O true in word, and tried in deed,  
Demanding, so to bring relief  
To this which is our common grief,  
What kind of life is that I lead;*

3

*And whether trust in things above  
Be dimm'd of sorrow, or sustain'd;  
And whether love for him have drain'd  
My capabilities of love;*

4

*Your words have virtue such as draws  
A faithful answer from the breast,  
Thro' light reproaches, half express,  
And loyal unto kindly laws.*

5

*My blood an even tenor kept,  
Till on mine ear this message falls,  
That in Vienna's fatal walls  
God's finger touch'd him, and he slept.*

6

*The great Intelligences fair  
That range above our mortal state,  
In circle round the blessed gate,  
Received and gave him welcome there;*

7

*And led him thro' the blissful climes,  
And show'd him in the fountain fresh  
All knowledge that the sons of flesh  
Shall gather in the cycled times.*

8

*But I remain'd whose hopes were dim,  
Whose life, whose thoughts were little worth,  
To wander on a darken'd earth,  
Where all things round me breathed of him.*

9

*O friendship, equal-poised control,  
O heart, with kindest motion warm,  
O sacred essence, other form,  
O solemn ghost, O crowned soul.*

10

*Yet none could better know than I,  
How much of act at human hands  
The sense of human will demands  
By which we dare to live or die.*

ORIGINAL

2

Whatever way my life incline,  
I felt and feel, tho' left alone,  
His being working in mine own,  
The footsteps of his life in mine; <sup>4</sup>

3

And so my passion hath not swerved  
To works of weakness, but I find  
An image comforting my mind,  
And in my grief a strength reserved.

4

These mortal pulses beat again  
For other friends that once I met;  
Nor doth it suit me to forget  
The mighty hopes that make us men.

5

I woo your love: I count it crime  
To mourn for any overmuch;  
I, the divided half of such  
A friendship as had mastered time;

6

Which masters time indeed, and is  
Eternal, separate from fears:  
The all-assuming months and years  
Can take no part away from this:

7

But summer on the steaming flood,  
And spring that swells the narrow brooks,  
And autumn, with a noise of rooks,  
That gather in the waning woods,

8

And every pulse of wind and wave  
Recalls, in change of light and gloom,  
My old affection of the tomb,  
And my prime passion in the grave.

PUBLISHED

11

Whatever way my days decline,  
I felt and feel, tho' left alone,  
His being working in mine own,  
The footsteps of his life in mine.

12

*A life that all the Muses deck'd  
With gifts of grace, that might express  
All-comprehensive tenderness,  
All-subtilising intellect:*

13

And so my passion hath not swerved  
To works of weakness, but I find  
An image comforting the mind,  
And in my grief a strength reserved.

14

*Likewise the imaginative woe,  
That loved to handle spiritual strife  
Diffused the shock thro' all my life,  
But in the present broke the blow.*

15

My pulses therefore beat again  
For other friends that once I met;  
Nor can it suit me to forget  
The mighty hopes that make us men.

16

I woo your love: I count it crime  
To mourn for any overmuch;  
I, the divided half of such  
A friendship as had master'd Time;

17

Which masters Time indeed, and is  
Eternal, separate from fears:  
The all-assuming months and years  
Can take no part away from this:

18

But Summer on the steaming floods,  
And Spring that swells the narrow brooks,  
And Autumn, with a noise of rooks,  
That gather in the waning woods,

19

And every pulse of wind and wave  
Recalls, in change of light or gloom,  
My old affection of the tomb,  
And my prime passion in the grave:

<sup>4</sup> This stanza is copied last, but the MS indicates its present position.

## ORIGINAL

## PUBLISHED

20

*My old affection of the tomb,  
A part of stillness, yearns to speak:  
'Arise, and get thee forth and seek  
A friendship for the years to come.'*

21

*'I watch thee from the quiet shore;  
Thy spirit up to mine can reach;  
But in dear words of human speech  
We two communicate no more.'*

22

*And I, 'Can clouds of nature stain  
The starry clearness of the free?  
How is it? Canst thou feel for me  
Some painless sympathy with pain?'*

23

*And lightly does the whisper fall;  
'Tis hard for thee to fathom this;  
I triumph in conclusive bliss,  
And that serene result of all.'*

24

*So hold I commerce with the dead;  
Or so methinks the dead would say;  
Or so shall grief with symbols play  
And pining life be fancy-fed.*

25

*Now looking to some settled end,  
That these things pass, and I shall prove  
A meeting somewhere, love with love,  
I crave your pardon, O my friend;*

26

*If not so fresh, with love as true,  
I, clasping brother-hands, aver  
I could not, if I would, transfer  
The whole I felt for him to you.*

37

*For which be they that hold apart  
The promise of the golden hours?  
First love, first friendship, equal powers,  
That marry with the virgin heart.*

28

*Still mine, that cannot but deplore,  
That beats within a lonely place,  
That yet remembers his embrace,  
But at his footstep leaps no more,*

9

*Yet looking to a settled end,  
That these things pass, and I shall prove  
A meeting somewhere, Love with Love,  
I crave your pardon, O my friend:*

10

*If not so fresh, with love as true,  
I, clasping brother-hands, aver  
I could not, if I would, transfer  
The all I felt for<sup>s</sup> him to you.*

11

*For who are those that hold apart  
The promise of the golden hours?  
First love, first friendship, equal powers,  
That marry with the virgin heart.*

<sup>s</sup> *From* is altered to *for* in the MS.

## ORIGINAL

## PUBLISHED

29

*My heart, tho' widow'd, may not rest  
Quite in the love of what is gone,  
But seeks to beat in time with one  
That warms another living breast.*

30

*Ah, take the imperfect gift I bring,  
Knowing the primrose yet is dear,  
The primrose of the later year,  
As not unlike to that of Spring.<sup>7</sup>*

12

But yet I love you: count it crime  
To mourn for any overmuch;  
I, the divided half of such  
A friendship as had mastered time.<sup>8</sup>

The comparison emphasizes the unpredictable nature of revision. It indicates the futility of resting very much of the history of the composition of *In Memoriam* upon internal evidence. If many sections underwent this kind of elaborate addition and reorganization, they must elude chronological analysis.

But more deserves notice in the manuscript poem. Surprisingly, some of those stanzas which indicate a readiness to find new friends and to throw off excess of grief, stanzas which many have assumed to be later additions to the section, are shown here to be early. It is true that many of the stanzas of this tone and attitude were added at a later time, but the essential sentiment stands in the early version. These stanzas indicate, as *Ulysses* does, that for at least isolated moments of time, Tennyson felt soon after Hallam's death the dangerous enervation of his grief and the need to assert himself against its selfish power.

The appearance of these stanzas also indicates that the original poem was perhaps not addressed to Edmund Lushington.<sup>8</sup> At least two important stanzas which are certainly addressed to the friend, stanzas 2 and 30, were later additions. These later additions to Section 85 are similar to Section 6, which is known to have been written about 1841.<sup>9</sup> The most intimate period of friendship be-

<sup>8</sup> Heath MS, pp. 254-56.

<sup>7</sup> *Eversley*, III, 118-24.

<sup>8</sup> Hallam Tennyson identifies the friend in the poem as Edmund Lushington (*Eversley*, III, 247).

<sup>9</sup> See *Memoir*, I, 202-3.

tween Tennyson and Lushington was also about that year.<sup>10</sup> These facts indicate the year 1841 as the probable date of the later revision and completion of Section 85, and the identification of Edmund Lushington would probably be valid then in relation to the second, not the first version of the poem.

The method of revision which Tennyson practised here needs final comment. The stanzas of the original version are changed only in slight details, mostly to adjust them to the new additions. The opening stanza, the most well known, was not changed—some of the most effective lines seem to have been achieved in the first attempt. Immediately after the first stanza there is an obvious break caused by the later insertion of the final stanzas 2-10. But this failure to weld the old and new stanzas together is exceptional in the poem: there is no instance of complete break after this first. The difficulty here may have arisen from the fact that stanzas 2-10 were suggested by what now follows, not precedes, them; they are successfully connected with the final stanza 11.

This first addition, stanzas 2-10, longer in itself than many whole sections of *In Memoriam*, brought in the first direct address to Edmund Lushington. Some stanzas of the original had, as I have mentioned, stated the need to combat despair and to take up new interests. But the stanzas of later composition increased this sense of psychological distance from the original grief. Immediacy in *In Memoriam* usually meant self-absorption, not the consideration of others. These new stanzas are not self-absorbed: moreover, they have taken on the impersonal and insubstantial in such an address as

O sacred essence, other form,  
O solemn ghost, O crowned soul!

And the last six of these new stanzas quickly summarize what had taken the poet many separate sections to convey with a sense of

<sup>10</sup> In the autumn of 1841 the Tennyson family moved from Tunbridge Wells to Boxley, very near the home of the Lushingtons (*Memoir*, I, 150 and 182). Edmund Lushington and Cecilia Tennyson were possibly engaged at this time: they were married on October 14, 1842. Tennyson himself had continued a close friend of both Edmund and Henry Lushington for years (*Memoir*, I, 182) and he seems to have been especially intimate with Edmund during this fall. (See his letter of September 19, 1841, to Lushington in *Memoir*, I, 179; see also *Memoir*, I, 202.)



his slow progress. It is in passages like this that the later and detached attitudes of Section 85 have been felt most strongly.

The meticulous fitting of this later material, however, with the original is illustrated by the transition between the final stanzas 10 and 11. What would have been the rather awkward juxtaposition of *live, life* in successive lines is avoided by the new line "Whatever way my days decline." In the same way a new stanza is made to move easily out of an old. The last line of an early stanza, "The footsteps of his life in mine," gives over to the beginning of the new, "A life that all the Muses deck'd," and it is impossible to sense the difference in time of composition. Again, in the last line taken from the original, "That marry with the virgin heart," *virgin heart* is caught up and at once produces and controls the metaphor of the next two stanzas.

But the value of verbal transition in welding the parts of a poem is proven by Section 85 to be limited. In lines like (*italics mine*)

*And so my passion hath not swerved  
Likewise the imaginative woe  
My pulses therefore beat again*

Tennyson achieved some external connection of parts, some sense of logical progression. But this connection is sometimes more facile than real, and the sense of difficulty in the poem's organization remains. For example, in the final stanzas 20-24 Tennyson adds a distinct portion of the poem in which the poet speaks to the dead and is answered. In adding this, Tennyson writes in the terms of the later ideas of the poem and creates, despite surface transition, a basic cleavage in attitude again between the new stanzas and the original stanzas immediately before them.

This extensive revision by patchwork was made possible, of course, by the nature of Section 85. Even in the original version there was shifting and vacillation between attitudes. The poem was built from the start upon a conflict within the self between attention to the new friendship and passionate reaffirmation of the old; this conflict is the source of whatever dramatic tension the poem achieves. It was plausible, then, for Tennyson to take in what new stanzas he wanted by inserting them as extensions and amplifications of both sides of the existing conflict. Stanzas 20-24, for example, can be said to motivate in detail a shift in attitude which follows even in the original poem. The problem, however, is

the limit which must be set upon such a method of extension. If it is carried too far, the tight, firm effect of conflict can dissolve into the effect of confused and loose argument. The fact that the last stanza of Section 85 comes as a clear and simple lyrical relief, indicates that in the body of the poem Tennyson probably tampered too much with a more complex effect.

MARY JOAN ELLMANN

Wellesley College

### AN ENGLISH MYSTERY PLAY FRAGMENT ANTE 1300

More than twenty-five years ago, J. P. Gilson presented a French-English fragment from an East Anglian mystery play.<sup>1</sup> The unsolved questions this fragment raised—the use of French and English concurrently at one performance or for entirely separate showings, the extent of indebtedness of the English to the French—were outweighed by the establishment of the early date of the MS. Gilson estimated the hand of this “Ricking Hall” fragment two generations earlier than the memorandum of manorial dues which was inscribed on the verso and which can be dated 1370. He thus was able to produce MS. evidence of an English mystery play in the very early fourteenth century, anticipating *Dux Moraud*.

The present fragment (Cambridge University MS. Mm. 1. 18, f. 58<sup>a</sup>) confirms this date and moves it even further back. It appears at the end of a *Summa Magistri Guidonis Fabe*, which forms part of a collection of seven very miscellaneous Latin tracts, written in different hands from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, bound together as one manuscript. A list of saints’ days occurs on the preceding page, and the dramatic fragment is added in another hand on what is actually a second end flyleaf (incidentally a palimpsest). There is no other vernacular. The hand is clear enough to allow dating not later than about 1300, and possibly the last quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Gilson, *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 May 1921, pp. 340-1; discussed *ibid.* by Balfour, 2 June 1921, p. 356; Studer, 9 June 1921, p. 373; and Sisam, *XIV Century Prose and Verse*, p. xxvi. Brandl has reprinted

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of MSS. at the Henry E. Huntington Library, comments: “There are a number of characteristics which have an the text in *Archiv* CXLIV. 255.

The text consists of two parts, French and English, each of twenty-two lines; while neither is a translation of the other, the general tenor is identical: a proclamation to an audience, reinforced by threats of punishment by officers of a pagan "Emperor," to keep quiet and not to interrupt the "game."

The English is not extensive enough to allow more than a general localization of dialect peculiarities to southern England. The verbal forms are regularly Southern.<sup>3</sup> There is one unusual orthographical mannerism, the writing of a "z" for a "p."<sup>4</sup> This device, however, is found in other late thirteenth century MSS.<sup>5</sup>

oez seynnur oez oez	
escoutez tant cum wus poez	
escutez ben pur uostre honur	
le ban de nostre enpereur	4
a set luy deuez grenur fey	
ke nul autre par ma ley	
fetes place e teneus coy	
e si entendet ben a moy	8
s'il i a nul que noyse face	
U que entre en cet place	
pur uostre en ren desturber	
prendre le frun saunz demorrer	12
e jucer leys en la prisun	
Ja quit n'ert pur nul ransun	
que el ne seyt mut haut pendu	
U su mans nun mult ben batu	16
fey ke io doy a mun seynnur	
c'est la ban l'enpereur	
e pus que c'est sun comandement	
fet serra mut igneement	20
si m'ait mahun io nay regard	
que nul me torne de coard	

earlier coloring. . . . All these lead me to wonder if this text was not written in the last quarter of the 13th century. On the other hand, there is something about the script that makes me feel an older person wrote it. This would explain the survival of earlier forms to a date around 1300." For generous assistance with deciphering the French lines, I am indebted to Mlle Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny and M. Marcel Thomas of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>3</sup> *E. g.* imp. pl. *sittet*, *herknit*; 3 pr. pl. *beut*; inf. *bu*. There is a number of forms not recorded in the *NED*, *e. g.* *uer* (3 s. subj.), *ev* (you).

<sup>4</sup> This letter is made in the same way as the letter at the end of *oez*, *poez*, in vv. 1-2 of the French.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole 360, Part VII, Brown-Robbins, *Index* Nos. 3961, 3968; printed Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XIII Century*, pp. 63-4: *zenke*, *zurhc*.

nu sittet stille and herknit alle	
zat hur no mis ting ev bifalle	
and sittet firme and wel a-twe	
zat men moyt among ev go	4
pey zat beut igadert fale	
ne maknet nayt to lude tale	
hit uer ev bot muchel scame	
for to lette hure game	8
and ek i scuerie bi this day	
and bi mahun and bi his lay	
if ani his so hardi man	
zat stille ber him ne can	12
z'amperur hat zat men awonge	
and souyt him men an-honge	
bot hit bu child other vitles man	
zat nones mannes wit ne can	16
and zet he hat men sal zu-bunde	
and hym bete and sore so wonge	
so ich mote heuer mahun soe	
als ich it sege uer so it sal bu	20
pet tes lordes pays ich grede	
nu sittet stille bi mine rede	Amen

2 *escoutez ben tant cum ius poe* struck through after line 2 5 *faey a*  
dotted for expunction 15 *sayt* struck through and *haut* written above  
17 MS *fey que ke* 20 *mut* lacks one minim 22 MS *de co coard*

2 *zat* z orthographical for p; *hur* here; *ev* you 3 *firme* f has hook to  
left; after *wel* the word *achuoe* struck through 4 *a-twe* apart, away  
from each other (a-two) 5 *beut* 3 pr pl; *fale* many 7 *uer* were 13  
*hat* 3 pr s commands (and so v. 17); *awonge* avenge 14 Between lines 14  
and 15 single letters *a* through *k* written diagonally; *souyt* pursue; *an-*  
*honge* inf 17 *zu-bunde* intensive 22 Underneath line single letters *a*  
through *o* written; lines 21 and 22 bracketed by *Am* (Amen)

An objection might be raised that this text is not necessarily dramatic. If it is not part of a play, then it must have served as a prologue to a sermon or a romance. Introductions to sermons or religious treatises, however, would be unlikely to contain oaths by "mahun;" generally they crave silence by "pe loue of ihesu crist."<sup>6</sup> And introductions to romances are very seldom as long as

<sup>6</sup> E. g. Brown-Robbins, *Index* No. 1904; printed Pfander, *Popular Sermons of the Medieval Friar in England*, pp. 41-4:

Lestnit nou and habbit lest  
For pe loue of Iesu Crist

Cayphas (*Index* No. 180) has a six-line introduction.

this text.<sup>7</sup> But the internal evidence of the text itself clearly indicates its dramatic character.

The detailed instructions to the audience where to sit—"well apart so that men may pass among you" (vv. 3-4)—imply that actors (not a single man reciting a story) would be moving among the audience, either to present crowd scenes or to make an entrance or exit. Similar prologues on seating are found in the later fifteenth century continental "Mercator" plays in Germany, where actors walk through the audience to indicate transition from one scene to another.<sup>8</sup>

The word "game," although not recorded in this sense in the *NED*, here must mean a dramatic performance. *Ludus*, of course, was the common Latin term, and "game" equally with "play" is an adequate translation. Young<sup>9</sup> and Chambers both give references to *ludus* meaning popular religious plays: "There are *ludi* in villages and small towns from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and perhaps earlier, which appear to be dramatic."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the English equivalent "game" is found in the proclamation for the Coventry plays, which concludes:<sup>11</sup>

Now haue we told 3ow all be-dene  
The hool mater þat we thynke to play  
Whan þat 3e come þer xal 3e sene  
This game wel pleyd in good a-ray  
Of holy wrytte þis game xal bene  
and of no fablys be no way

---

<sup>7</sup> Only a few romances have an introduction of more than two or three lines, and these all include a religious or moral invocation for the poet and those listening: *Morte Arthur* (vv. 10), *EETS* 8; *Guy of Warwick* (vv. 18), *EETS*, e. s., xxv; *Soudine of Babylone* (vv. 16), *EETS*, e. s. xxxviii; *Torrent of Portyngal* (vv. 10), *EETS*, e. s. li.

<sup>8</sup> See Buhler and Selmer, *PMLA* LXIII, 25-6.

The Cambridge fragment unfortunately cannot offer any evidence to document R. S. Loomis' contention of "theatres" in the xiii century (see *Speculum* xx, 92-5). The late G. G. Coulton believed that the word "theatrum" often referred to an outdoor pulpit.

<sup>9</sup> Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, II, 408.

<sup>10</sup> E. K. Chambers, *English Folk Play*, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> *EETS* (e. s.) cxx. 16 (vv. 516-21).

The non-cycle mystery play, *The Pride of Life*, also refers to itself as a "gam."<sup>12</sup>

Finally, the contents of these twenty-two lines are very closely paralleled by passages in the fourteenth century *Dux Moraud* and in later mystery plays. *Dux Moraud* introduces himself in twenty-four lines, some of which recall the Cambridge character:<sup>13</sup>

No yangelynges 3e mak in bis folde today . . .  
Set 3ow alle semely in plas . . .  
Or ellys I xal bate 3owre pride wyt dynt  
And þer for I warne 3ow in fere  
Þat 3e mak neyþer crynge ne bere  
If 3e do with outyn duere  
Strokes at 3ow xal I mynt

The bragadoccio character is also very reminiscent of the Herods and Pilates of the fifteenth century drama. Herod in the *Oblacio Magorum* of the Towneley series rants for half a dozen stanzas along these lines:<sup>14</sup>

Peasse, I byd, both far and nere,  
I warne you leyf youre sawes sere;  
who that makys noyse whyls I am here  
I say, sall dy.  
Of all this world, sooth, far & nere,  
the lord am I.

Pilate opens the *Flagellacio* of the same Towneley series with:<sup>15</sup>

Peasse at my bydyng, ye wyghtys in wold!  
Looke none be so hardy to speke a word bot I,  
Or by mahowne most myghty, maker on mold,  
With this brande that I bere ye shall bytterly aby.

<sup>12</sup> *EETS* (e. s.) CIV. 88.

Lordinge & ladiis þat beth hende,  
Herkenith al with mylde mode,  
[Swillke] gam schul gyn & ende;  
Lorde us wel spede þat sched his blode.

A mid xvi century dramatic epilogue (Brown-Robbins, *Index*, No. 2380, printed Robbins, *English Studies*, August 1949) uses "game" interchangeably with "play." Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 484, refers to popular playlets or charades as "games" in connection with Master Benet's "A Christemas game" (*Index* No. 2749).

<sup>13</sup> Brown-Robbins, *Index*, No. 722; printed Heuser, *Anglia* xxx, 181-8.

<sup>14</sup> *EETS* (e. s.) LXXI. 140.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.



A similar warning is made by Imperator in *Caesar Augustus*:<sup>16</sup>

And looke ye grefe me noght,  
ffor if ye do it shall be boght,  
I swere you by mahowne;  
I wote well if ye knew me oght,  
To slo you all how lytyll I roght,  
Ston styll ye wold syt downe.

Indeed, throughout the Towneley cycle there are similar warnings, including the threats by "mahowne."<sup>17</sup> The other mystery cycles provide fewer and slighter parallels.<sup>18</sup>

All in all, therefore, it seems best to hold this Cambridge fragment as dramatic; there is no need to postulate a possible scene. The questions posed by the Ricking Hall fragment are duplicated here, but the work of investigating the English drama may be helped by this establishment of a dramatic text antedating 1300.<sup>19</sup>

ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS

*The Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn*

# L'EXPRESSION DES COULEURS DANS L'OEUVRE DE CHATEAUBRIAND<sup>1</sup>

(Notes Lexicologiques)

Jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le vocabulaire exprimant les couleurs est assez pauvre. Les écrivains ne savent ni observer la nature, ni

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. in *Pharoah* (VIII), *Magnus Herodes* (XVI), *Conspiracio* (XX), and *Processus Crucis* (XXIII).

<sup>18</sup> Coventry plays: *EETS* (c. s.) CXX. 154—Herod swears "be mahound dyngne duke of helle" (v. 92). The Chester plays offer no parallels except Herod in Adoration of Magi, *EETS* (c. s.) LXII. 171. Imperator, in Digby play of Mary Magdalene, has similar lines, *EETS* (c. s.) LXX. 55.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Carleton Brown, "Sermons and Miracle Plays," *MLN* XLIX. 396; "Their interest for the historian of the drama lies rather in the suggestion which they afford that the tradition of religious plays in the vernacular existed in England at an earlier date than any which can be established on the basis of the extant cycle plays. And this conclusion is, of course, in no way improbable."

<sup>1</sup> Nos recherches se sont bornées aux ouvrages suivants: *Essai sur les*

la peindre. Des épithètes conventionnelles sont attachées à certains mots: lune d'argent, soleil d'or, pâle clarté.<sup>2</sup> Rousseau lui-même use trop souvent d'épithètes abstraites: torrent éternel, prairie agréable, paysage admirable etc. . . . On ne se soucie pas non plus de noter les nuances. Bien que la mode de la poésie descriptive se développe, on ignore ce que c'est qu'un tableau; dans le roman, la description ne doit jamais entraver la marche du récit. Seul Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, soucieux de mettre devant les yeux de ses lecteurs la luxuriante richesse des paysages de l'Île de France, a su forger des expressions toutes nouvelles et rendre un vocabulaire pittoresque à la langue française qui ne cessait de s'appauvrir depuis Malherbe.<sup>3</sup>

C'est en Amérique que Chateaubriand a eu la révélation de la nature exotique; il a tout de suite été frappé par l'éclat des couleurs;<sup>4</sup> il a décrit les oiseaux d'un plumage éclatant "qui ressemblent à de grandes fleurs rouges et bleues sur la verdure des arbres" (G. XVI, 181)<sup>5</sup> il a analysé avec soin *toutes les nuances imaginables*.

Sur la route des Lieux Saints, le pèlerin n'est pas moins sensible à l'enchantement des ciels de l'Attique: il note tous les aspects du crépuscule; il excelle à saisir les impressions fugitives. Il ne se lasse pas d'admirer "l'azur de la mer parsemé des voiles blanches des pêcheurs." (M. XIX, 117); la flotte ionienne qui baisse ses voiles pour entrer au port de Coronée ressemble à "une troupe de colombes passagères [qui] ploie ses voiles pour se reposer sur un rivage hospitalier"; il suit des yeux la "trace blanchissante des vaisseaux" (M. XXI, 3); les Cyclades blanchissantes, rangées au loin sur la mer lui apparaissent comme "une troupe de cygnes" (M. XX, 183); tandis que la mer et le Pirée sont tout blancs de

*Révolutions (Ess.)*, *Atala (At.)*, *Génie du Christianisme (G.)*, *Les Martyrs (M.)*, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem (It.)* et *Voyage en Amérique (V.A.)*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mornet, Daniel: *Le Romantisme en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Tels sont: *couleur de fumée de pipe* (IV, 74), *gueule de four enflammé* (IV, 74), *couleur de fleur de pêcher* (III, 252), *couleur gorge de pigeon* (I, 266). Se reporter à Ware: *The vocabulary of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, Baltimore et Paris, 1927. Les références renvoient aux *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris 1818, 12 vol.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. T. C. Walker: *Chateaubriand's Natural Scenery*, Baltimore, 1946.

<sup>5</sup> Les références renvoient aux *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris, Pourrat, 1836-1838, 32 vol.

lumière, les sculptures de Phidias s'animent sous les rayons obliques du soleil ; la citadelle de Corinthe n'est plus qu'un rocher de pourpre et de feu.

Après lui, il n'y a plus de vocabulaire réservé à la poésie ; dans l'épopée des *Martyrs*, la mer devient "les plaines azurées d'Amphitrite" (M. xx, 182) ; la lune lui suggère l'image d'un "long bouclier d'or" (M. xix, 50 51) ; on voit flotter la "chevelure d'or du Soleil" (M. xix, 152).

Il excelle surtout à saisir les nuances changeantes : *vert bleuâtre* (G. xix, 159), *mers étincelantes dont le vert changeant se glace de cramoisi et de feu* (Ess. III, 77), *les couleurs de l'aurore, muées du rose au pourpre* (V. A. xii, 139), *une blancheur légèrement dorée* (It. x, 42), *ailes noires et lustrées glacées par les premiers reflets du jour* (It. ix, 148), *rouge vif qui pâlissoit* (It. x, 42), *rouge tirant sur le violet* (Itin. xi, 10), *pourpre violette* (M. xxi, 112), *l'écorce variée des pastèques* (It. x, 23), *fôret diaprée* (M. xx, 162), *écailles changeantes* (M. xx, 108), *corneilles marbrées* (Ess. III, 258).

Mais là n'est pas sa plus grande originalité ; comme Bernardin, il a eu le souci de la notation exacte des couleurs ; la première chose qui le frappe dans les monuments d'Athènes, c'est leur belle couleur. Les épithètes courantes lui semblent insuffisantes et sa palette s'enrichit de maintes comparaisons suggestives :

... Le ciel clair et le soleil brillant de la Grèce répandent sur le marbre de Paros et du pentélique *une teinte dorée semblable à celle des épis mûrs ou des feuilles en automne*. (It., ix, 138).

Dans sa peinture de la campagne romaine, il note des nuances qu'aucun voyageur avant lui n'avait su exprimer :

Les monts lointains de la Sabine, qu'enveloppoit une vapeur diaphane, se peignoient de la *couleur du fruit du prunier, quand sa pourpre violette est légèrement blanchie par sa fleur* (M. xxi, 112.)<sup>6</sup>

Ces comparaisons ne sont pas faites au hasard, comme nous l'apprend une remarque des *Martyrs* : après une longue dissertation sur la couleur des yeux des Francs, que Mézeray avait vus verts et Pelloutier bleus, Chateaubriand ajoute :

<sup>6</sup> L'auteur insiste dans une note, sur la véracité de cette observation : "Cette belle couleur des montagnes de la Sabine a pu être remarquée par tous ceux qui ont fait le voyage de Rome." (M. xxi, 167.)

"J'ai donc dit poétiquement des yeux *couleur d'une mer orageuse* (XIX, 151), autorisé d'un côté par les vers de Sidoine (qui donnent aux Francs des yeux verdâtres), et de l'autre, par le témoignage de toute l'antiquité, qui parle du regard terrible des Barbares." (M. XIX, Rem. 307, 308.)

Son souci de la précision impose à l'écrivain le vocabulaire le plus varié.<sup>7</sup> Que d'adjectifs ou d'expressions pour indiquer le rouge: "un rocher de *pourpre* et de feu" (It. IX, 149), des piverts *empourprés* (At. XVIII, 6), *vermillon* (M. XIX, 157), *cramoisi* (V. A. XII, 84) *rougissant*, [néologisme] (M. XX, 53), *teinte rougeâtre* (M. Rem. XX, 276), *carmin* (Ess. III, 176).

Pour préciser davantage encore, l'auteur emprunte les noms de pierres précieuses: cheveux d'*hyacinthe* (G. XV, II), mer couleur d'*émeraude* (Ess. III, 258), "La voûte du ciel paroissoit fondue en une mer de diamants et de *saphirs*" (V. A. XII, 91).

Mille autres rapprochements donnent à ses tableaux une couleur poétique. Que de variété dans le "rendu": *zone bleue et aurore* (Ess. III, 133, note): Cymodocée "dort vêtue d'une robe de *bysse aurore*" (M. XX, 193), tronc *presque lilas* (V. A. XII, 64); "le reste du ciel est d'un *cuivre sale* (V. A. XII, 95), "*ruban de moire et d'azur*" (Ess. III, 295), "l'extrémité des ailes d'un *rouge de cuivre*" (V. A. XII, 57), "ce plumage brille comme de l'*or brun*" (V. A. XII, 57), *noir d'ébène* (G. XIV, 175); *oeufs ardoisés* (G. XIV, 48); *sillons plombés* (M. XXI, 23); *feuillage ensanglanté* (V. A. XII, 60); *nuage sanglant* (M. XX, 202); *cardinaux de feu* (At. XVIII, 6); *couleur enfumée* (Ess. III, 257); nuages de toutes couleurs, flottant en *fumée de rose* ou en *flocons de soie blanche* (V. A. XII, 90); des bataillons de grues et de dindes "*qui marbrent de blanc et de noir le fond vert de la savane*" (V. A. XII, 98). "L'eau du fleuve étoit . . . de la couleur d'une *bruyère en automne*" (It. XI, 10); *couleur d'écaille fondue* (Ess. III, 78); "Athènes, l'Acropolis et les débris du Parthénon se coloroient de la plus belle teinte de la fleur du pêcher." (It. IX, 149), *une robe semblable à la fleur du lys*. (M. XIX, 41); *gris de perle*<sup>8</sup> (It. IX, 10) et At. XVIII, 20);

<sup>7</sup> De ce souci naît le besoin d'employer des mots comme *blanchâtre*, *bleuâtre*, *grisâtre*, *rougeâtre*, *verdâtre*,—*blanchissant*, *jaunissant*, *rougissant*, *verdoyant*—*blanchi*, *rougi*, *verdi*, etc. . . .

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, 1910, p. 763. Dick, toujours à la recherche des faiblesses de Chateaubriand, voit dans cet adjectif une méprise grossière de l'auteur: il traduirait ainsi *peerless light* (lumière sans pareille) de Milton. De fait, dans la traduction du passage de Milton, Chateaubriand

"des gueules de four enflammées, de grands tas de braises" (V. A. XII, 90); couleur de feuille séchée (M. XIX, 27); couleur semblable à celle du verre liquide. (G. XIV, 188); couleur vert de mer (V. A. XII, 64); habit vert-pomme (It. XI, 50 et V. A. XII, 30) vert comme le lierre (G. XIV, 159).

L'artiste ne craint pas de recourir à la langue technique des peintres: "Le ciel... avoit cette teinte que les peintres appellent un *ton chaud*" (It. x, 20). A ce même langage sont empruntés des termes comme *outremer*: (V. A. XII, 88) ou *céruse*: "Les deux astres mêloient au zénith leurs teintes de *céruse* et de *carmin*" (Ess. III, 176). *Céruse* a d'ailleurs servi à former l'adjectif *céruséen* ["Le jour *céruséen* et velouté de la lune"] (Ess. III, 294), qui est un néologisme. A propos de l'adjectif *scarlatine* que nous trouvons à diverses reprises sous la plume de Chateaubriand<sup>9</sup> Sainte-Beuve remarque:

Ces mots-là sentent le peintre pur: ce sont des couleurs crues; il note et copie les choses au vif pour en fixer le souvenir, l'exacte nuance comme il l'a vue. Plus tard, quand il transportera ces tableaux dans d'autres ouvrages, on lui fera changer ces mots de chevalet; il les adoucira comme sentant trop, la couleur pour la couleur (Sainte-Beuve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, I, 128).

Un de "ces mots de chevalet," *céruséen*, qui a retenu l'attention des critiques,<sup>10</sup> appelle un rapprochement inévitable avec le *céruléen* que l'on retrouve dans la *Nuit chez les Sauvages de l'Amérique*, reprise dans le *Génie du Christianisme* (XIV, 191) ["Le jour *céruléen* et velouté de la lune."] Mais, dans la version définitive (il n'y a pas moins de six textes successifs dans les diverses éditions du *Génie*) Chateaubriand le remplace par "bleuâtre."<sup>11</sup> L'auteur se

transpose *peerless* "gris de perle," mais la raison en est sans doute qu'il trouvait cette traduction plus poétique. Chateaubriand a trouvé cette expression dans la traduction des voyages de Bartram: (Paris 1799, II, 162), et l'a reprise pour son compte. Bernardin de St-Pierre avait ainsi dépeint la tourterelle (v, 81, 83).

<sup>9</sup> Les teintes *scarlatines* et mouvantes du ciel (Ess. III, 49), "la réverbération de notre bûcher s'étend au loin éclairé en dessous par la lueur *scarlatine*, le feuillage paraît *ensanglanté*" (V. A. XII, 60).

<sup>10</sup> Ce mot a fait l'objet d'une étude de G. Beaumont: "Sur un adjectif de Chateaubriand: *Céruséen* ou *céruléen*" dans la *Revue Universitaire* (nov. 1924).

<sup>11</sup> Dans sa *Lettre sur l'art du dessin*, Chateaubriand écrivait déjà: "La nuit même à ses couleurs: il ne suffit pas de faire la lune pâle pour la faire

reprochait, on le sait, les idiotismes, latinismes et anglicismes qui fourmillent dans l'*Essai*. Il élimine donc un terme trop technique,<sup>12</sup> un latinisme (*caeruleus*) ou un anglicisme (*cerulean*) qu'il a pu lire dans Bartram,<sup>13</sup> à qui il a emprunté tant de descriptions.<sup>14</sup> Ces scrupules nous prouvent combien l'artiste se livrait, dans sa recherche de l'expression, à un travail conscient, et aussi quel soin il apportait à noter les couleurs exactes, rejetant les adjectifs banals pour prélever quelques touches à la riche palette des peintres.<sup>15</sup> "Partout des couleurs tranchantes, conservant partout des harmonies jusque dans leurs disparates" tel est le conseil que notre auteur donne aux jeunes peintres dans sa *Lettre sur l'art du dessin* et qu'il a appliquée pour son compte. Il possède des dons d'observation et d'évocation qui en font le peintre le plus prestigieux de la littérature française.

J. M. GAUTIER

*The University,  
Manchester, England*

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belle; la chaste Diane a aussi ses amours, et la pureté de ses rayons ne doit rien ôter de l'inspiration de sa lumière." On trouve pourtant "la pâle clarté de la lune" (*Ess.* III, 195).

<sup>12</sup> On retrouve dans les *Mémoires*: "oiseaux cérulés" (II, 154).

<sup>13</sup> *Cerulean ether* (*ouvr. cit.* 166, 167). On considère l'ordinaire ce terme comme un latinisme, cf. Cressot, *Langue de Huysmans*.

<sup>14</sup> On peut, dit-il en lisant les deux descriptions, "voir ce que le goût m'a fait changer ou retrancher dans mon second travail." (*Ess.* III, 294, note a). On remarque que *céruléen* convient tout à fait bien au ton général du morceau dans l'*Essai*; l'impression de blancheur domine tout le morceau: "... un groupe de nuages, qui ressembloit à la cime des hautes montagnes couronnées de neige..."—"... ces nues se dérouloient en zones diaphanes et onduleuses de satin blanc, ou se transformoient en légers flocons d'écume..."—"... partout se formoient dans les cieux de grands bancs d'une ouate éblouissante de blancheur..."—"... des bouleaux se détachent du fond de craie..." "Par ailleurs, l'adjectif *céruléen* pouvait être préparé par "les plaines bleues du firmament." Cette impression de bleu s'accroît dans le *Génie* où l'astre suit, "paisiblement sa course azurée." Notons enfin que l'adjectif *céruléen* n'a jamais été admis dans le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* ni dans celui de Littré.

<sup>15</sup> C'est ce même souci de la précision qui amène sous sa plume un terme de blason: "falaises jaunes ondées de noir" (*It.* X, 73), déjà dans Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: "queue ondée d'azur." (IV, 158.)



JOSÉ MARÍA HEREDIA IN THE UNITED STATES  
AND MEXICO

The writings of the Cuban "Cantor de Niágara" have been catalogued by two devoted Heredia scholars, both recently deceased, Francisco González del Valle in his *Cronología herediana (1803-1839)*<sup>1</sup> and Manuel García Garófalo Mesa in *Vida de José María Heredia en México (1825-1839)*.<sup>2</sup> These authors added considerably to previous knowledge of Heredia's writings and life and together almost succeeded in exhausting source materials. The one period of Heredia's life on which neither threw new light was his visit to the United States which lasted from December 4, 1823 to August 22, 1825. At this latter date Heredia, in response to an invitation from President Guadalupe Victoria, sailed from New York to take up permanent residence in Mexico.

Almost certainly very little record of Heredia's activities in the United States, other than his letters,<sup>3</sup> is likely to be found.<sup>4</sup> As a youth of twenty with an abhorrence for English, travelling between boarding houses in Boston, New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, and other places, living among other Cuban exiles and tourists, restless to leave the United States for any Spanish-speaking territory not under Spanish rule, he was not likely to enter into North American literary circles or to publish his poems in literary reviews here. These two years of exile cannot be said, nevertheless, to have left no mark upon the poet or upon his poetry. His love of liberty grew as he discovered in his travels here the rewarding activities of free men; as he learned to read in English and imitate

<sup>1</sup> La Habana, Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación, Dirección de cultura, 1938. 331 p., 21.

<sup>2</sup> México, D. F., Ediciones Botas, 1945, 774 p.

<sup>3</sup> His letters to his family and friends, republished in part in the two works cited, are conveniently collected by María Lacoste de Arufe in *Poesías, discursos y cartas de José María Heredia* (Habana, Cultura, 1939), 2 volumes. Julio del Toro's "José María Heredia and the United States," *Michigan alumnus quarterly review*, December 7, 1946, pp. 67-72, is a summary of these letters.

<sup>4</sup> Elijah Clarence Hills is the only North American scholar who has made a contribution to this period in Heredia's life. See "Did Bryant translate Heredia's *Ode to Niagara*?" *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiv (1919), pp. 503-505, and *The odes of Bello, Olmedo and Heredia* (New York and London, Putnam's, 1920), pp. 83-116, 124-136.

in Spanish the prose of Ossian and the poetry of Byron; and as he put into Spanish in 1825 Daniel Webster's eloquent and patriotic *Address delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument*.<sup>5</sup>

Niagara Falls, made easily accessible by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, was the great American spectacle of nature which attracted nationals and foreigners alike in those romantic days. Heredia stood in awe before it and projected his anguished sentiments into its powerful flow and fall and swirl. Some notable poems brought the spectacle to the homes of readers of American journals and newspapers. After the publication in 1827 of an excellent translation of Heredia's "Niágara," probably the work of William Cullen Bryant, this poem has generally been considered the best of contemporary impressions.

The "Niágara" had originally been published in the author's first collection of his poems, *Poesías* (New York, 1825). Another version of it appeared in the United States, during Heredia's lifetime, which has not been recorded by the poet's critics, or biographers. A splendidly illustrated gift annual, *Presente a las damas*,<sup>6</sup> a bibliographical rarity,<sup>7</sup> issued in Philadelphia in 1829, copied the "Niágara" from *Poesías* (1825) and printed it in three

<sup>5</sup> Proof of these assertions, and some newly discovered Herediana, will be given in the author's forthcoming article, "Heredia in New York."

<sup>6</sup> Filadelfia: Carey, Lea, y Carey, 1829. 32 numbered leaves and 32 plates. Each poem or prose sketch alludes to the preceding plate.

<sup>7</sup> Ralph Thompson in *American literary annuals and gift books, 1825-1865* (New York, The H. W. Wilson Co., 1936), describes the *Aguinaldos* of 1829 and 1830, also published by Carey and Lea, as "apparently the only foreign language annual issued by an American publisher." He does not mention the *Presente*. The *Aguinaldos* do not contain any of Heredia's poems, as far as I can tell, although in the issue of 1830, p. 256, I find the following translation by an unidentified poet who uses the initial often used by Heredia, "H":

Un fragmento de Safo.  
Traducido por H.

Ya la luna hermosa  
Las Pleyades habían ya caído  
La noche ya ha seguido  
El medio curso, y huye presurosa  
La hora que declina;  
¿Y duermo sola yo? ¡ay que mezuina!

parts anonymously. On leaf 11 of the *Presente* can be found a poem entitled "Cascada de Montmorency" which is a patchwork of lines 9-13, 17-25, 85-92, of the "Niágara"; and on leaf 15 with the title, "La Cascada de Trenton," are lines 93-100, 63-65, 70-73 of the same ode. The third fragment of Heredia's poem given in the *Presente* is quoted below in full since it alone introduces changes in the original text of 1825, of which it copies the third strophe.

NIAGARA

¡Niagara poderoso! salve, salve!  
De pompa y majestad hermosado  
Corres sereno por la vega y luego  
En asperos peñascos quebrantado,  
Te abalanzas violento, arrebatado,  
Como el destino irresistible y ciego.  
¿Que voz humana describir podría  
De tu sirte rugiente  
La atronadora faz? El alma mía  
En vanos pensamientos se confunde,  
Al contemplar la fervida corriente  
Que en vano quiere la turbada vista  
En su vuelo seguir al ancho borde  
Del alto precipicio: mil olas  
Cual pensamiento rapidas pasando,  
Chocan y se enfurecen  
Y otras mil y otras mil ya las alcanzan  
Y entre espuma y fragor desaparecen.

The important variants, not seen in any other editions of this poem, are indicated in the italics.<sup>8</sup> In the same annual a fragment of his ode, "Al alzamiento de los griegos contra los turcos en 1821," was also published anonymously.

<sup>8</sup>The poem is printed anonymously on leaf 12 and follows a contemporary view of the Falls. Copies located: New York Public Library, Library of the Hispanic Society of America, and the author. The first two lines are not in any of the editions of Heredia's ode. In the 1825 edition the italicized phrases are found as follows: "y majestuoso" in place of "por la vega"; "la" for "tu"; "aterradora" for "atronadora"; "vagos" for "vanos"; "precipicio altísimo" for "alto precipicio." Heredia introduced some changes in the 1832 edition but these bear no relationship to the Philadelphia variants, leading one to conclude that the editor of the *Presente* was probably responsible for them. Who he was I have been unable to ascertain. Possible editors were Domingo del Monte, José Antonio Saco, and Félix Varela, all Cubans and friends of Heredia who were in Philadelphia for at least part of 1829; or Félix Merino, an active teacher and translator of Spanish, who resided there.

## ATENAS

¿Donde la Grecia fue? ¿Donde de Atenas  
 De Esparta y de Corinto se ocultára  
 El pasado esplendor? Miseria, sangre  
 Y esclavos tristes solo presentára  
 Por cuatro siglos la moderna Grecia.  
 Sus virgenes ornaron el serrallo  
 Del vil Bajá: la yerba solitaria  
 Crece en el Partenon abandonado.  
 El viagero en sus ruinas reclinado  
 En vano busca ahora  
 La patria de las ciencias y las artes,  
 De Roma y de la tierra la instructora.  
 Todo desaparecio: con hondo duelo  
 Tan solo encuentra de la Grecia antigua.  
 El ayre puro y el brillante cielo.\*

This is a copy, hitherto unrecorded, of the fifth strophe of this long ode also published in the *Poesías* (1825).<sup>10</sup> Were the above poems printed with the permission of Heredia? Probably not, but he presumably knew about them, for in the prologue of the second edition of his *Poesías* (Toluca, 1832) he refers to "la reimpresión de varias en París, Londres, Hamburgo y Filadelfia."<sup>11</sup>

The following notes are additions to the materials referred to, or collected in García Garófalo Mesa's *Vida de Heredia en México*. Each is listed under the date of composition or of first publication.

1820 *Himno patriótico que se cantó en el teatro de Méjico la noche del 21 del corriente en celebridad de la instalación de la Excm. diputación provincial*. México, Alejandro Valdés, 1820. Caption title, 8 pp. Also contains, pp. 5-8, "Himno patriótico" by Manuel María Jiménez. Copy in Yale University library.

1820 *Semanario político y literario de Méjico*. México, Imprenta de D. Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1820. Numbers 1-32, 1-19, in 5 volumes, 12 July 1820-27 March 1822. It is known that in no. 20, 22 November 1820, pp. 73-80, Heredia published anonymously a biography of his father. The attribution is made more certain by the appearance of Heredia's name as among the editors of both of the first two volumes published.

1824. "Carta inédita de Heredia." In *Ilustración mexicana* (México, I.

\* *Presente*, leaf 16, preceded by a view of Athens.

<sup>10</sup> The ode appeared for the first time in *El Revisor político y literario* (Havana), no. 64, 6 August 1823, with the title, "Oda a la insurrección de la Grecia en 1820."

<sup>11</sup> *Poesías* . . . *Segunda edición corregida y aumentada* (Toluca, Imprenta del Estado, 1832), Vol. I, p. 4.

- Cumplido), vol. I, 1851, pp. 277-281. This is Heredia's famous letter describing his visit to Niagara Falls; first published by Domingo del Monte in *La Moda* (Havana), 20 February 1830.
- 1829 "La novia de Corinto." In *El Amigo de la juventud* (México, Impreso por Manuel F. Redondas, 1835), Vol. I, supplement to no. 2, pp. 33-37. This translation of the Goethe poem was first published by Heredia in his *La Miscelánea* (Tlalpam), 1st epoch, Vol. II, no. 2, Oct. 1829, pp. 74-84.
- 1829 *Un aguinaldo excelente para toda buena gente. Manifiesto que se presenta á la Nacion de los individuos dignos de toda consideracion y premio, por su siempre memorable grito de la Acordada, y otros grandes servicios.* México, Imprenta del C. Alejandro Valdés, 1829. Broadside, 30 x 20 cm. Copy in State Library, Durango, Mexico. The list of names includes "Lic. José María Heredia." The "grito" was given in the Acordada army barracks by General José María Lobato and others against the Minister of War, Manuel Gómez Pedraza, a candidate to the presidency. The subsequent revolt was successful and the Mexican Congress returned General Vicente Guerrero to the presidency on April 1, 1828. Heredia served for some time as an officer in an artillery company, stationed in Tlalpam, which supported General Guerrero.<sup>12</sup>
- 1831 "Historia de un salteador italiano." In *Repertorio de literatura y variedades* (Méjico, Imprenta del Repertorio), Vol. II, 1842, pp. 262-264. First published in *La Miscelánea*, 2nd epoch, Vol. I, no. 1, June 1831.
- 1831 "Economía femenil." *Ibidem*, Vol. II, 1842, pp. 293-294. Republished from *La Miscelánea*, 2nd epoch, Vol. I, no. 4, Aug. 1831.
- 1831 "Abuzaid, cuento oriental." *Ibidem*, Vol. I, 1841, pp. 51-52. Republished from *La Miscelánea*, 2nd epoch, Vol. I, no. 7, Dec. 1831, pp. 201-211.
- 1832 "Juicio crítico de Entretenimientos poéticos de Fr. Manuel Navarrete." In *La Marimba* (México, Imp. de Alejandro Valdés, 1832), pp. 269-272; edited by the Mexican historian, Carlos María de Bustamante, friend of the neoclassic poet Navarrete. Heredia published this article in his literary review, *La Miscelánea*, 2nd epoch, Vol. II, no. 5, May 1832.
- 1833 *Waverly, / ó / Ahora sesenta años. / Novela histórica / por Sir Gualterio Scott / traducida del original ingles / por / D. José María Heredia. / [rule] / Tom. I. / [rule] / Méjico. / Imprenta de Galvan a cargo de Mariano Arevalo, / Calle de Cadena número 2. / [line of asterisks] / 1833. 145 x 98 mm. Tomo I: title-page, second leaf "El traductor," signed by Heredia, p. [5]-211; Tomo II: title-page, p. [3]-224. Copy in State Library, Guadalajara. Omitted by García Garófalo Mesa and described but not seen by González del Valle.*
- 1835 "El moro expósito . . . por D. Angel Saavedra." In *Revista mexicana* (México, Impreso por Ignacio Cumplido, 1835), pp. 147-171. Literary criticism, with fragments of the poem reprinted. Copies: National Library, Mexico; University of Texas Library.

<sup>12</sup> García Garófalo Mesa, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351.

- 1836 "Viaje al nevado de Toluca." In *Ilustración mexicana* (México, I. Cumplido), Vol. III, 1852, pp. 618-621. First published in *El Imparcial* (Toluca), 2 October 1836; then in the *Mosaico mexicano*, 1 November 1836; then the *Calendario de las señoritas megicanas para el año de 1838* (Paris, 1837), pp. 241-254; and later reproduced in Cuba and Mexico many times.
- 1837 "Al oceano." In *Biblioteca mexicana popular y económica* (México, Imprenta de Vicente García Torres), Vol. II, 1852, p. 293. Also in *Uno de tantos* (México, Imprenta de Juan N. del Valle, 1842), no. 1, p. 3-4.
- 1839 "Poesía inédita." In *El Mosaico mexicano* (México, I. Cumplido), Vol. VII, 1842, p. 296. Written some "pocos días antes de su muerte." First published in *La Aurora* (Matanzas, Cuba), 19 September 1839. Though the author is not known to have given this poem a title, it has appeared under various: "La oración del poeta moribundo," "A Dios," "Al Santísimo Sacramento."
- 1839 José Augusto Escoto, in "Los restos de José María Heredia,"<sup>13</sup> established that Heredia died on 7 May 1839 and was buried in the Santuario de María Santísima de los Angeles. He also declared that Heredia's remains were removed to the Cementerio de Santa Paula in 1844 and placed in an urn. What happened to them later is not known. Santa Paula Cemetery was officially closed in 1879 and all permanent graves transferred to other places.

García Garófalo Mesa made a diligent search in the archives of various Mexican cemeteries and through contemporary publications but could find no proof that Heredia was reburied in the Santa Paula Cemetery. The following item confirms Escoto's statements while placing the removal to Santa Paula before 1842.

The anonymous author of the pamphlet, *Cementerio de Santa Paula* (México, Imprenta del Aguila [1842]), on page 11 gives the following inscription copied from one of the urns in that cemetery:

El Lic. D. José María Heredia, falleció el día 7 de Mayo de 1839, de edad de treinta y cinco años. Varios de sus amigos y compañeros dedican á su grata memoria el siguiente.

#### EPITAFIO

Su cuerpo envuelve del sepulcro el velo,  
Pero le hacen la ciencia, la poesía,  
Y la pura virtud que en su alma ardía  
Immortal en la tierra y en el cielo.<sup>14</sup>

E. R. MOORE \*

Syracuse University

<sup>13</sup> *Cuba y América* (Havana), año VII, Vol. XII, no. 17, 15 November 1903.

<sup>14</sup> Escoto states that the author of the epitaph was identified in the Heredia family papers as José María Lacunza, a well-known Mexican poet.

\* We regret deeply that Dr. Moore died on Sept. 23.—THE EDITORS.



A CHILEAN *GERMINAL*: ZOLA AND BALDOMERO LILLO

Baldomero Lillo is generally acknowledged by Chileans to be their country's most outstanding *cuentista*. That is saying a good deal since the *cuento* has been well cultivated in Chile. Of Lillo's three volumes of tales the collection *Sub terra* (1907) is unquestionably the best. Critics agree that these stories about the Chilean coal mines were partly inspired by Zola's *Germinál*, although it is also emphasized that Lillo was the son of a miner and spent his formative years in the coal mining town of Lota. His tales have that ring of truth possessed by any literature which is based solidly on observed facts and first-hand documentation. Nevertheless, the influence of *Germinál* is evident throughout. To analyze just what specific ideas Lillo drew from Zola makes an interesting study.

Although there is no hint of strikes or union movements in Lillo's stories, the anarchistic elements in *Germinál* seem to have evoked an answering response. The reader will recall how the Russian anarchist, Souvarine, destroyed the French coal mine by loosening the steel lining plates that had prevented the ground water from flooding down into the pit. To Souvarine the only solution to social injustice was complete destruction of everything in the hope that society could one day make a fresh start on a more equitable basis. The thinking of Lillo's blind man, Juan Fariña, may not have gone that far but at least he visualized the mine as a means of oppression which might better be destroyed. Coupled with this idealism, no doubt, was the desire for personal vengeance, for an explosion in the mine had killed his father and blinded Juan himself at an early age. At any rate, so obsessed was he with these ideas that the loss of his own life was of no importance. It is interesting to note that the means of destroying the Chilean mine was the same as that used by Souvarine—water. Only in this case it was sea water let in by blowing up one of the tunnels that led out under the Pacific Ocean. A paragraph toward the end of Lillo's story reveals his anarchistic ideas:

El nombre de Fariña estaba en todos los labios, y nadie dudó un instante de que fuera el autor de la catástrofe que los libertaba para siempre de aquel presidio, donde tantas generaciones habían languedecido en medio de torturas y miserias ignoradas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baldomero Lillo: *Sub terra*. Santiago. Nascimento. 1936, p. 144.

Probably the editors of *La Revista Católica*, which awarded a prize to this successful story of Lillo's in 1903, were not aware of its anarchistic leanings!

Another story of Lillo's, *El Grisú*, relates the revolt of a hot-tempered young miner, who, driven by the brutality of his superiors, deliberately sparks his sledge-hammer against the rocky roof of the tunnel, causing an explosion of firedamp that avenges him against his oppressors even though he loses his own life into the bargain. The body of the brutal English engineer is found neatly spitted on a pulley axis protruding from the wall. The humble workers respectfully place the body on a stretcher and cover it with their coats. They may have been resigned to their fate but Lillo seems more aware of the symbolism of the great fat bulk of Mr. Davis which even in death continued to weigh down upon the backs of the Chilean miners. Here is the last sentence of the story:

Puestos en marcha con la camilla sobre los hombros, respiraban con fatiga bajo el peso aplastador de aquel muerto que seguía gravitando sobre ellos, como una montaña en la cual la Humanidad y los siglos habían amontonado soberbia, egoísmo y ferocidad.<sup>2</sup>

So well has Lillo built up the picture of Mr. Davis' cruelty and brutality through a succession of scenes that the young miner's explosive vengeance makes a very satisfactory conclusion to the story. Almost we are convinced of the need for anarchy! By the time we reach *Juan Fariña*, three stories farther on, our indignation has been built to the point where we can fully approve of the blind miner's self-sacrificial work of destruction. There is a cumulative effect to the reading of successive tales in *Sub terra* which is similar to the mounting resentment felt by the reader of successive chapters in *Germinal*. *Juan Fariña* read by itself in an anthology is much less effective than when one reads it as tale number seven in *Sub terra*. That Lillo planned for just such an effect seems quite obvious. It is especially interesting to discover in this connection that the development from tale to tale follows quite closely the development of Zola's novel.

The reader will recall how *Germinal* begins. Etienne, arriving at the coal mine during the night, addresses himself to old Bonnemort, who tells of his fifty years as a miner—beginning at the age of eight, surviving many an *éboulement*, and finally being relegated to driving the carts of waste material up to the slag pile. Every

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

so often he coughs uncontrollably, bringing up a spital which is black with fifty years' accumulation of coal dust in his system. Etienne shivers, and the mine crouching there in the hollow, its chimney rising into the dark like an upraised horn, seems to him a monster fat from devouring human flesh.

*Sub terra* also begins on the note of the mine's off-scourings. There is a scene of excitement at the pit-head as an old worked-out horse is brought up in a net suspended beneath the elevator cage. A group of worn-out miners who also are too old to work look on with interest as the poor spavined nag stands there with head down, blinking his eyes against the unaccustomed light. The watching old men compare themselves to the horse, reflecting that the coal mine treats man and beast in much the same manner: "Agotadas las fuerzas la mina nos arroja como la araña arroja fuera de su tela al cuerpo exagüe de la mosca que le sirvió de alimento!" Thus Lillo's first story, *Los Inválidos*, serves to set the scene and give us a preliminary shiver in much the same way as Zola's opening pages.

Zola's third chapter describes Etienne's first descent into the mine. As it is also the reader's first glimpse into the interior of the monster, we share the curiosity and vivid first impressions of the new coal miner. Lillo's second story takes us down into the mine as we follow a father who is taking his eight year old son down for his first day's work. The boy does not know what is in store for him and is not reassured when he learns that he is to replace a boy who fell under a train of coal carts. Finally they reach the heavy door which the lad is to take charge of. After making sure that the little fellow is strong enough to open and close it, the father resolutely ties his son to a ring in the wall and departs leaving him terrified in the dark. In Zola's story the youngest of the Maheu family, Jeanlin, had similar duty and was killed one day by a cave-in at the doorway.

Lillo's third story, *El Grisú*, parallels parts of Zola's chapters four and five. The French author is more methodical, beginning with a description of the actual digging of the coal, passing to the process of timbering which followed, then describing the activities of Etienne and Catherine who had charge of filling the coal carts and pushing them up the tunnel to form part of a train. The chapters include a visit of inspection in which the company engineer calls down the men for their insufficient and slipshod timbering

work. He departs telling them their pay will be docked and leaving smoldering resentment behind him. In *El Grisú* we also see boys of Catherine's age (early teens) pushing and pulling the carts, and the engineer finds fault with the timbering. He distributes fines and cuffs indiscriminately and the feeling of resentment builds up to the climax of the exploding *grisú* which I have already described. Incidentally, the firedamp is mentioned in Zola's chapter four; Catherine shows Etienne a crevice in the wall and says

—Mets ta main, tu sens le vent. . . . C'est du grisou. Il resta surpris. Ce n'était que ça, cette terrible chose qui faisait tout sauter? Elle riait, elle disait qu'il y avait beaucoup ce jour-là, pour que la flamme des lampes fût si bleue.<sup>3</sup>

Compare this from Lillo's story:

—Pon la mano aquí, ¿qué sientes?

—Algo así como un vientecito que sopla.

—No es viento, camarada, es el grisú. Ayer tapamos con arcilla varias rendijas, pero ésta se nos escapó. La galería debe estar llena del maldito gas.

Y para cerciorarse levantó la lámpara de seguridad por encima de su cabeza: la luz se alargó creciendo considerablemente, visto lo cual por el obrero bajó el brazo con rapidez.<sup>4</sup>

And the workman goes on to explain:

—Ya ves—decía el primero—estamos, vaya el caso, dentro del cañón de una escopeta, en el sitio en que se pone la carga, y señalando delante de él la alta galería, continuó:

—Al menor descuido, una chispa que salte o una lámpara que se rompa, el Diablo tira del gatillo y sale el tiro. En cuanto a los que estamos aquí, haríamos sencillamente el papel de perdigones.<sup>5</sup>

In Lillo's story it was a spark that set off the explosion, in Zola's an open lamp. *Germinal's* firedamp explosion comes toward the end of the book but the parallels are striking. Note the similarity of the analogy to firearms:

Sans doute, Zacharie, mal éclairé, furieux de cette lueur vacillante qui retardait sa besogne, commit l'imprudence d'ouvrir sa lampe. On avait pourtant donné des ordres sévères, car des fuites de grisou s'étaient déclarées, le gaz séjournait en masse énorme, dans ces couloirs étroits, privés d'aérage. Brusquement, un coup de foudre éclata, une trombe de feu sortit du boyau, comme de la gueule d'un canon chargé à mitraille.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Emile Zola: *Germinal*. Paris. François Bernouard, 1927, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Sub terra*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Germinal*, p. 504.

The parallel continues as both authors describe the effect of the explosion when its impact reaches the pithead and rocks and scaffolding are shot high into the air like the eruption of a volcano.

In Lillo's fourth story, *El Pago*, he begins by describing the difficulty of actually digging the coal, thus remedying the previous omission of this important part of a miner's life. The narrative is quite as vivid as that at the beginning of Zola's third chapter—the cramped positions in which the digger must work and the torment of that persistent drop of water that always continues to drip, drip, drip on one specific point of face or throat or even in the miner's eye. After work the man returns home in his soaked garments, changes, and faces the problems of his family. These concern the struggle for food and the lack of credit at the store, where they have been unable to purchase anything for the past five days, having had to sell or pawn most of their poor possessions in order to eat. The exhausted miner has to go without his supper and wakes in the morning to a meagre breakfast of coffee and bread. Hopes are high, however, for today is payday. There follows the long wait by the paymaster's booth, wondering why his name was not called, only to discover finally that so many fines have been assessed against him that his pay will not even suffice to pay his bill at the store. Despairingly he tells his wife the news and watches as she and the children go gloomily away, pulling their ragged clothing about them under the dreary fine rain that is falling.

Zola treated the family's struggle for food and credit in Part II and followed it in Part III with the scene at the paymaster's booth, so similar to the one just described. Maheu goes to get the pay for his crew's fortnight of work only to discover that, between the three days that they were laid off and the fines for poor timbering, very little is left to feed the many hungry mouths at home. The whole town smolders at the bad pay and the women protest to one another in the street, unmindful of the cold drizzle of rain. Zola makes of this payday the climax leading to the declaration of the strike. Lillo's workers are more hopeless; there is resentment but no hint of a strike anywhere in the book.

The fifth tale tells of the exceptionally difficult conditions of work in a part of the mine called "El Chiflón del Diablo." This may be compared to the exceptionally hard conditions of work in the mine called "Jean Bart" in the fifth part of *Germinal*. The sixth story, *El Pozo*, introduces a love triangle vaguely reminiscent of the

Etienne-Chaval-Catherine one in Zola's novel. In both the initially successful rival is killed by the other as a solution to the problem.

The seventh tale is *Juan Fariña*, in which the mine is destroyed by the anarchistic blind man corresponding to Souvarine in *Germinal*. I believe that Lillo must have realized that these seven tales arranged in this order would give a developing picture of mining conditions in Chile with much the same effect upon the thinking public as *Germinal* had had in France. The book, *Sub terra*, does not stop with *Juan Fariña* but goes on rather anticlimactically with six other stories. None of them has any relation to *Germinal* and only two are even concerned with coal mining. The theme of social injustice is relaxed in these six tales and several of them are permeated with Lillo's gentle sense of humor. There can be little doubt that the first seven *cuentos* were deliberately arranged and placed first in the book for purposes of effectiveness and to form a sort of a Chilean version of *Germinal*. The other six tales were added at the end possibly partly for comic relief and to fill out the book. The two parts of *Sub terra* reveal an author who could be as deadly serious as Zola about painting a depressed social milieu in all its dark tones, and yet one who could also write in a lightly humorous vein of which the Master of Médan would be quite incapable.

DONALD F. BROWN

Hope College

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#### PLOTINUS AND ARNOLD'S "QUIET WORK"

For reasons that he did not analyze, Matthew Arnold's early biographer, H. W. Paul, named Goethe's epigram "Wie das Gestirn" as the chief source of the thought present in the sonnet familiarly known as "Quiet Work."<sup>1</sup> More recently, Professors C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry have accepted the suggestion, although they include Epictetus and Wordsworth as additional possible influences.<sup>2</sup> A parallel treatment of the theme, more forceful than Goethe's, seems to me to be found in Plotinus's third *Ennead*.

<sup>1</sup> *Matthew Arnold* (English Men of Letters Series, London and New York, 1902), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: a Commentary* (London and New York, 1940), p. 22.



Goethe's epigram runs,

Wie das Gestirn  
Ohne Hast,  
Aber ohne Rast,  
Drehe sich jeder  
Um die eigne Last.<sup>3</sup>

The general resemblance between this and "Quiet Work," or "Sonnet," as it was known in its first version in *The Strayed Reveller* (1849), is the commonplace idea of an unhurried continuance of natural cosmic forces. The specific parallels would be first, that Arnold's "sleepless ministers" of nature (l. 12) are a rendering of "das Gestirn" and second, that Arnold's phrase for nature's labor, "Too great for haste" (l. 8), echoes "Ohne Hast."<sup>4</sup>

It would be difficult, however, to discover a more striking parallel than that which Plotinus provides in the eighth tractate of his third *Ennead*. One knows that Arnold's reading list for 1845 included Plotinus, although one cannot say whether the reading was accomplished or only projected.<sup>5</sup> The essential passage is, moreover, dramatically introduced into Chapter XII of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, a work it seems likely Arnold knew by the same time. Inquiring into the springs of the "philosophic consciousness," Coleridge wrote,

I might oppose to the question the words with which Plotinus supposes NATURE to answer a similar difficulty. "Should any one interrogate her, how she works, if graciously she vouchsafe to listen and speak, she will reply, it behoves thee not to disquiet me with interrogatories, but to understand in silence even as I am silent, and work without words."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Are the "sleepless ministers" specifically the stars, or are they cosmic forces collectively, including the winds that Arnold mentions in line 2 as conveying the lessons of nature? The connotations of "course"—"Their glorious course in silence perfecting"—of 1849, it might be urged, supports the image of the stars more exactly than does "Their glorious tasks" of later versions.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Harris obliquely suggests this in "Matthew Arnold: 'The Unknown Years,'" *Nineteenth Century*, CXIII (April, 1933), 503. Professor C. B. Tinker has most kindly confirmed the fact that Plotinus's name appears in Arnold's MS. pocket diary for 1845, which is now in the Yale University Library.

<sup>6</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), I, 166. For the entire passage in its context, see Plotinus, *Psychic and Physical*

What are the resemblances? First to achieve a silent, resigned understanding and then to work in silence—these are the duties nature enjoins; and they are of course explicitly the two lessons Arnold asks to learn:

Two lessons, Nature, let me learn of thee—  
Two lessons that in every wind are blown;  
Two blending duties, harmonis'd in one,  
Though the loud world proclaim their enmity;  
Of toil unsever'd from tranquillity.<sup>7</sup>

Second, Arnold like Plotinus personifies a serenely aloof nature; Goethe's epigram does not employ personification at all. Third, nature's reply in Plotinus implies an inquirer that parallels Arnold's own inquiring and his own emphasis on the restiveness of man—the "weak complainings" (l. 10) of the 1849, the "fitful uproar" (l. 10) of the 1869 version. Fourth, the monitory tone of Plotinus's Nature, absent from Goethe for Nature herself is absent, is present in Arnold. Fifth, the phrases "to understand in silence even as I am silent, and work without words" are echoed in Arnold's lines,

Still do thy sleepless ministers move on,  
Their glorious course in silence perfecting;  
Still working, chiding still our vain turmoil,  
Labourers that shall not fail, when man is gone.

Goethe's epigram seems rather a collateral source than the primary one; that place may belong to Plotinus.

Perhaps it is not irrelevant to suggest that a study of Arnold's early poems in connection with Plotinus deserves to be made. To read especially sections 4, 5, and 6 in the eighth tractate of the third *Ennead* seems to me to be reading a commentary not only on "Quiet Work," but on "In Utrumque Paratus" and "Resignation"; and the "spark from heaven" awaited by the Scholar Gypsy is startlingly like the vision in the fifth *Ennead* (tractate 5, section 8), of which, in Coleridge's version in the *Biographia*, Plotinus

*Treatises: Comprising the Second and Third Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna (London: Medici Society, 1921), p. 123.

<sup>7</sup>Tinker and Lowry, *op. cit.*, p. 23. By 1853 Arnold perceived that he had "harmonised" the two lessons into one grammatically. "Two blending duties . . . of toil unsevered from tranquillity" did not stand the test of grammar, and the poem began "One lesson, Nature."

says, "... we ought not to pursue it with a view of detecting its secret source, but to watch in quiet till it suddenly shines upon us; preparing ourselves for the blessed spectacle as the eye waits patiently for the rising sun."<sup>8</sup>

FRASER NEIMAN

*College of William and Mary*

## RONSARD ET LA POÉSIE POPULAIRE

Henry Poulaille a dit des poètes de la seconde partie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: 'Ces artistes évolués qui prétendaient avoir fait litière de l'ancienne prosodie, qu'ils déclaraient caduque, venaient lui emprunter. C'est ainsi qu'à leur insu ils s'intégraient à la tradition qu'ils reniaient.'<sup>1</sup> Ce contraste entre la théorie et la pratique est, en effet, curieux. Quand on lit les déclarations hautaines et tranchantes des poètes de la Brigade, on ne s'attend guère à trouver dans leurs œuvres ni des souvenirs de la poésie médiévale française, ni, surtout, des allusions au répertoire populaire.<sup>2</sup> On a, pourtant,

<sup>8</sup> *Ed. cit.*, I, 167. Plotinus, *The Divine Mind; Being the Treatises of the Fifth Ennead*, trans. Stephen MacKenna (London: Medici Society, 1926), p. 56.

<sup>1</sup> *La fleur des chansons d'amour du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1943), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Il est vrai que Poulaille croit que les chansons qu'il a recueillies ne sont guère populaires. Et, pour démontrer sa thèse, il cite (p. 62) les neuf premiers vers d'une '*Chanson du nom de Marie retourné*' que, dit-il, il n'a pas recopiée, car elle est 'trop longue et vite insipide, alors que son début est prometteur.' Il conclut (p. 63), en disant: 'Nul ne croira que la muse que taquinait ce rimeur était plébéienne!' Les quatre premiers vers sont, en effet, l'exacte reproduction du premier quatrain du célèbre sonnet de Ronsard, dans le texte de 1555 et de 1557; mais, comme Ronsard a changé son texte, dès 1560, il n'était pas facile de le reconnaître (Cf. *Oeuvres*, éd. crit. Laumonier, VII, 123-124). Il est intéressant, à ce sujet, de remarquer que les variantes de Ronsard semblent avoir pour but de diminuer les points de ressemblance entre le texte de la 'chanson' (qui semble être un sonnet) et celui de son sonnet; mais peut-on être sûr que le texte de Ronsard, en 1555, soit postérieur à celui de la chanson? Poulaille ne donne pas les renseignements qui pourraient être susceptibles de nous renseigner avec quelque certitude.—Ajoutons que Poulaille parle de 'l'astuce' de la phrase où Sainte-Beuve semble rendre contemporains ces deux événements: l'invention de l'imprimerie et les 'grandes résurrections, d'abord grecque et latine.' Poulaille n'a pas tort de protester contre l'enseignement qui 's'en tient aux grandes lignes, aux vues panoramiques, dites d'ensemble'; mais

attiré l'attention<sup>3</sup> sur un sonnet de Ronsard qui, dans l'album pétrarquiste des *Amours* de 1552, rappelle le *Roman de la Rose*, en mettant en scène des personnages allégoriques comparables à ceux que ce poème a rendus célèbres. C'est dans ce même sonnet que nous pouvons reconnaître l'*incipit*<sup>4</sup> d'une chanson populaire déjà citée par Molinet. En 1553, Ronsard publia un recueil où se lit une pièce (la 'folastrie' VIII) qui décrit les visions d'un ivrogne. Celui-ci s'était endormi après avoir bien bu et bien mangé; puis il se réveilla en sursaut et se mit à chanter:

Thenot donc qui demy s'eveille,  
Frottant son front, et son oreille,  
Et s'alongeant deux ou trois fois,  
En sursaut getta cette voix:  
Il est jour, [ce] dit l'Alouette,<sup>5</sup> . . .

Poulaille donne le texte d'une chanson<sup>6</sup> qui se trouve dans le recueil d'Attainant (1530), et dont voici la première strophe:

Il est jour dit l'alouette  
Il est jour dit l'alouette  
Allons jouer sur l'herbette  
Sur bout, sur bout  
Allons jouer sur l'herbette.

Il est piquant de relever cette allusion chez le chef de la Brigade,

nous est-il permis de relever une curieuse erreur: 'Rabelais avait publié *Gargantua* en 1532 et *Pantagruel* en 1534 . . .' (p. 19, n. 1)? Ne se laisse-t-il pas influencer par l'ordre logique des deux livres, oubliant l'ordre historique?

<sup>3</sup> A. Pauphilet, 'Ronsard à la manière du "Roman de la Rose,"' *Mélanges* . . . *Huguet* (Paris, 1940), pp. 194-199. Y a-t-il lieu de s'étonner du désaccord qui existe entre la fiction du *Roman de la Rose* et celle de Ronsard? Celui-ci utilisait des allégories qui étaient devenues traditionnelles et qui n'avaient plus qu'un rapport éloigné et incertain avec les personnages du *Roman*. C'est ainsi que Clément Marot a dit, dans le *Temple de Cupido*:

Celuy chemin tindrent plusieurs passants,  
Car Bel Accueil en gardoit la barriere  
Mais Faulx Danger gardoit sur le derriere  
Un portail . . .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, éd. crit. Laumonier, IV, 132, n. 3 et *ibid.*, p. 18, n. 2—Marcel Françon, 'Navagero et Ronsard,' *Italica*, xxv (1948), 296-299.

<sup>5</sup> *Oeuvres*, éd. crit. Laumonier, v, 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

qui, comme J. du Bellay,<sup>7</sup> a maintes fois proclamé son horreur du peuple.

MARCEL FRANÇON

Harvard University

## REVIEWS

*The Virtues Reconciled: An Iconographical Study.* By SAMUEL CHEW. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 163. Plates 18. \$2.75.

Professor Chew refers to many allegorical and symbolical works and to a large number of pictures, chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Index of Abstractions, Personified and Emblemized, lists 146 items, of which Charity, Death, Envy, Error, Fortune, Humility, Justice, Patience, Peace, the Seven Sins, Slander, Time, Truth, and Wisdom are most often mentioned. There are two hundred and forty-four notes; these are especially abundant in the sections on Truth and Justice, and Mercy and Peace. Any lover of allegorical art will find much to please and profit him.

In the interpretation of allegorical and emblematic passages, Mr. Chew tends to be liberal; more conservative explanations are sometimes possible. In Colman's *Dance Machabre* is an elaboration of the story of Damocles, who thought the tyrant the most happy of men. This occurs in its simple form in the *Emblemata* of Schoonhovius, who shows the ruler sitting at a banquet with the sword over his head; the motto is *In miserrimam Tyrannorum vitam*. Mr. Chew (p. 17) cites Reusner's *Emblemata*, where, as *Speculum hominis peccatoris*, a man sitting over the pit of Hell has pointing at him the swords of Peccatum, Caro, Vermis, Diabolus, and Mors. The sword of Divinum Iudicium hangs over his head. Connection between this and the emblem of the tyrant's life may be taken as merely accidental.

A picture in the *Imprese* of Capaccio is interpreted as Time with the scales of Justice (p. 91, and note). Capaccio says, however, that "gli effetti del tempo si figurano." Time has wings for haste, a wreath for fame, a wheel for the changes he brings, a balance for getting the relations of things. There is no need to make the scales those of Justice unless one holds that attributes are fixed.

<sup>7</sup> *La deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse*, éd. crit. H. Chamard (Paris, 1948), pp. 180-181: 'Seulement veux-je admonnester celui qui aspire à une gloyre non vulgaire, s'eloingner de ces ineptes admirateurs, fuyr ce peuple ignorant, peuple ennemy de tout rare et antique scavoir. . .'

Queen Elizabeth's robe embroidered with eyes and ears is said to symbolize the vigilance of the royal Justice. Obviously justice is a royal virtue and a good ruler would use his vigilance to secure justice, but vigilance need not be subordinated to Justice; an unjust tyrant may still be vigilant. In this instance the parallel is Ripa's *Ragione di Stato*, wearing garments ornamented with eyes and ears, rather than his Jealousy.

Significance for the nature of Elizabethan justice is found in portraits of Queen Elizabeth with the sword of Justice, but not with the scales (p. 98). Is it fanciful to suggest that it is from the coronation ceremony, where scales would not appear? But allegorical figures of Justice without scales are common enough to make one doubt any special meaning in the omission.

Such texts of 2 Esdras 14.25 as I have seen do not mention the candle of truth (pp. 88, 89, 141), but "ego accendam in corde tuo lucernam intellectus."

Mr. Chew gives various interpretations of English poets, thus illustrating one of the prime values of the study of symbolism. From Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* is quoted (p. 121) the passage

Before the temple-dore ful soberly  
Dame Pees sat, with a curteyn in hir hand (239-40).

This is referred to the original in Boccaccio's *Teseide*, where at the door of the temple sits

Monna Pace, la quale una cortina  
Movea innanzi alla porta lievemente (7. 58).

Mr. Chew, making *cortina* into *cortana*, thinks it suitable that Peace should move a short sword gently to and fro before the door, but a little ridiculous that she should move a curtain. The text of the *Teseide* quoted above is that followed by Skeat in his introduction to *The Parlement*, but Chaucer apparently had a different text, which, like that of the critical edition issued in 1938 by Sig. Battaglia, read thus:

A'l entrata del tempio vicina  
vide che si sedeva pianamente  
madonna Pace, e in mano una cortina  
nanzì alla porta tenea lievemente.

The personified Prayer of Palemo comes to the temple; she sees Peace before the door with her hand on the curtain; she enters the temple. The natural idea is that Peace moved the curtain to allow her to go in. The change of curtain to sword is not demanded.

For Spenser's *Artegall* and *Talus*, Mr. Chew finds no explanation in Iconography and repeats the ideas of the commentators (pp. 97-8). Similarly without pictorial aid is the suggestion that to Spenser Mercy was a private virtue. But does he not say that the calming virtues

Upon the thrones of mortal princes tend (5. 9. 32)?



and he sets Mercy above Justice:

For if that virtue be of so great might  
Which from just verdict will for nothing start,  
But to preserve inviolated right,  
Oft spills the principall to save the part;  
So much more then is that of powre and art  
That seekes to save the subject of her skill,  
Yet never doth from doome of right depart;  
As it is greater prayse to save then spill,  
And better to reforme than to cut off the ill (5. 10. 2).

Moreover, Book 5 deals primarily with Justice, not with "this heavenly thing," Mercy.

The explanation of "Patience on a monument smiling at grief" (*Twelfth Night*) as involving two personifications would be more convincing if there were a reference to a monumental sculpture of Grief (p. 13). Such pieces tend to represent virtues. Comment on the deposition scene in *Richard II* raises the question how easily the Elizabethans transferred allegorical attributes (p. 14). Are we to see Pride and the travesty of Prudence in King Richard as he holds the mirror, or is it enough to see what is in Tottel's *Songes and Sonnettes*:

Alas not of stele, but of brittle glasse,  
I se that from my hand falleth my trust:  
And all my thoughtes are dashed into dust (95).

Does Falstaff personify Lust when he puts a cushion on his head as a crown (p. 16)? It is true that a cushion is suitable as a symbol for Sloth; and that Sloth brings on Lechery. But demonstration that a cushion directly symbolizes the latter does not appear in Prof. Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology*, on which Mr. Chew relies. Was there an Elizabethan stage tradition that Shylock held scales (p. 48), though the contrary is implied in Portia's question: "Are there balance here to weigh the Flesh?" The Jew answers: "I have them ready." But unless he held them up, the Elizabethan audience could hardly see him as a travesty of Justice. Mr. Chew presents Time as using the scourge of Justice (p. 91, fig. 10). Hamlet's verbal image of the whips of Time seems, however, to refer to undeserved sufferings rather than just punishments. Hamlet tells how Claudius conjured the king of England:

As love between them like the palm might flourish.

Mr. Chew makes the palm an emblem of reciprocated love. It is true that two palms can be so, as in Webster's

That we may imitate the loving Palmes  
(Best Embleme of a peacefull marriage)  
That nev'r bore fruite divided (1. 1. 555-7).

But is not Hamlet's speech explained by "shall flourish like the palme tree" (Psalm 92.12)?

For the bees swarming about a discarded helmet as an emblem

of Peace, Mr. Chew gives only the emblematic portrait of Cromwell engraved by Faithorne. Perhaps there is a figure of Peace herself with such an emblem, though Alciati in his *Emblemata* pictures only the helmet and bees, with the motto *Ex bello pax*. Whitney took motto and picture for his *Choice of Emblemes*, but he saw honey only as suggestive of sweetness, not, like Mr. Chew, of light as well (p. 128). From this picture presumably came the line in Peele's or Lee's poem (*His golden locks*):

His Helmet now shall make a hive for bees.

The eighteen full-page plates will be of much value to teachers of Spenser and other allegorical poets.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

*Duke University*

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*The Primary Language of Poetry in the 1640's.* By JOSEPHINE MILES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1948. Pp. 160.

This study attempts to define poetic styles by the counting of much-used words. Prof. Miles wisely recognizes the importance of noticing syntactical relationships, and bases much on the separate counting of adjectives, nouns, verbs. She has tried to check her method, she has read widely and perceptively. Yet, no matter how serious and sympathetic the consideration we try to bring to it, our mournful conclusion must be that the method won't do what is asked of it.

A scientific method must be suitable to the questions we ask it to answer for us. The continual forcing of quantitative data to solve a qualitative problem lets in a very questionable kind of interpreting, and just at the point which is the only point we care about—the meaning of the results. Why is *truth* a 'human term' (10) and *eye, soul*, 'of physical and metaphysical connection?' The 'great bodily stress' of Cleveland's *kiss*—true also of 'A quickness which my God hath *kissed*?' If *lord* and *king* are to be called 'secular and humane,' does one just not count them when they are metaphors for God? What to do when one of Milton's verbs (sparser than Donne's) is so eloquent that it outweighs six of the nouns and adjectives that are supposed to indicate his quality? Why are Dryden's *young* and *grace* more 'conceptual' than Waller's *care, fate*?

Prof. Miles' study is not one of those unthinking ones which does not know that these questions are proper, and she makes her decisions the only way she can—in terms of what she already thought these poets were like. I do not myself agree with the old handbook oppositions, nor like to see stressed the old falsifying categories (65: Spenserian—Metaphysical, etc.) which, *so far as*

they are true, we can all see at a glance. But our concern here is simply with the fact that the data get significance only by the use of generalizations which they are meanwhile used to support.

Surely there is no reason why criticism should not use any method it can lay its hand upon, and current tabus (especially transatlantic, and especially against aesthetics and 'psychology') are among the newer kinds of obscurantism. If statistical methods are chosen, we must of course apply them with the rigor their nature demands. Hence we cannot but worry about, for example: The accepted grouping is got in a table (p. 30) 'in order of adjectival emphasis'—suppose we used the verbs of column 3 instead? Milton leaves More and ties up with Denham (and so on). 30 words of Donne are tabulated over against 36 of Milton; what would 30 to 30 look like? Hardest of all: the poems used belong not to one but to several decades. If 'the time' is so important, with common expression 'drawn in for nourishment like the air we breathe,' what of the fact that three of these poets were dead before the decade began? that one, Donne, had not breathed (the air of this place at any rate) for *nine* years? ('And who knows how long before had been contriving' these poems, that may be all but equally close in time to the 1540 decade). How to understand phrases like 'the poets themselves . . . their own time,' 'sheer contemporaneity,' 'as they spoke and agreed or disagreed in the 1640's,' 'and how in any one time . . . poets make choices'—in the face of those three dead men? (as well as Comus, 1634, not 1645, etc.; these objections not satisfactorily answered on pp. 41, 43). Yet this is not a careless, but a responsible, piece of investigation. It may be that variables, unisolatable factors, impossibility of experiment, of controlled or of repeatable check, stack the cards against the finding of truth about these particular matters in these ways.

Distinctions concerning 'the predicative poet' are interesting. Comments on whole poems are valuable and sensitive. It is a pleasure to see the question of Waller's and Dryden's reforms of poetry faced head on—'what did they do to it?' The answer is made in terms extra-to the method. In fact, various embarrassments result from the fact that the data are not of a sort to prove much, are of themselves mute rather than speaking. It is awkward that Vaughan should be less like Crashaw than like Cleveland, that Dryden belongs with Milton and not with Denham or Cowley (94). If Quarles is 'most typical,' in any way at all, of this set of poets, I am immediately convinced that typicality is not the fruitful thing to investigate. We say 'ha, Spenser!' and 'Herbert!' as the author says we will (65) but for the reasons she under-emphasizes: the use of 'exceptional,' *not-held-in-common* words (More's *Ladies loves . . . Knights brave deeds*; Harvey's *Lord, my first-fruits . . .*; cf. p. 3). For just the rather thoughtless undergraduate reason in fact—what they wrote about.

This book strives valiantly to determine if not to assess quality.

It does not fall into the complete relativism which must attend our modern fear of trying to judge the validity of a poet's meanings, the commonest present form of which is an unwillingness to look humbly at what he appears to have intended the poem to say. Nevertheless, it does not take a quite firm and clear position; e. g. the discussion of poetic subject as a determinant of quality is allowed to become rather the discussion of subject *matter*. Possibly this is because the first type of discussion involves another modern tabu—the horridly intractable cold fact that the poet, not the Time nor the Reader, wrote the poem—first. A poet picked the words; our methods do not much help us to discover why, but I have a suspicion that the attempt is the only road to understanding what the poem is. To define by form is perhaps the only way to define; but we must examine formal units, and a word may not be a formal unit in a poem (perhaps this comes out when Prof. Miles recognizes that Vaughan's 'sun' is simply *not* Donne's 'sun,' pp. 70, 73. But SUN is all one can count). In our fright of ideas, we tend to dissipate the poem into parts too tiny to have an existence. We would give anything to judge without evaluating. This book is careful and honest as concerns hidden evaluations posing as 'facts.' It can only assist criticism if it assists understanding and evaluation, and its method seems to me to hobble rather than aid its author to do this.

ROSEMOND TUVE

Connecticut College

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*Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia.* By RUSSELL AMES. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. viii + 230. \$3.50.

More's letters to his literary friends in 1516 show his anxiety concerning the reception of his *Utopia* and his gratitude for praise of it. He would be delighted, surely, with the enduring interest in it through these more than four centuries.

Russell Ames gives us a new commentary on it. His argument is that "*Utopia* is not an accident of individual genius but a product of capitalism's attack on feudalism, a part of middle-class and humanist criticism of a decaying social order. . . . Though it is true that the *Utopia* is somewhat anti-capitalist . . . the core of the book is republican, bourgeois and democratic—the result of More's experience as a man of business, as a politician, and as an Erasmian reformer" (p. 6).

Dr. Ames criticizes the somewhat similar views of Frederic Seebohm, Karl Kautsky and R. W. Chambers, and then expands and documents what they wrote. Seebohm related More to the reforms advocated by the Humanists. Kautsky believed that capitalism already *dominated* English society in the 16th century, and that

therefore the struggle was between capitalism and the working class, rather than, as Ames points out, between feudalism and rising capitalism. Chambers thought that More hoped for reform of society by the best principles of medieval life. Ames, on the contrary, believes that More intended reform of society "along bourgeois-republican lines" (p. 18).

His chapters on More as lawyer, politician, citizen of London, and representative of the strong and varied middle class, are developed in interesting detail, to show what were the probable influences on his writing of the *Utopia*. The class he represented "was not yet at all capable of seizing power" (p. 35) and its criticism of society had to be disguised. To avoid censorship, More therefore used the literary form of fantasy and identified himself only in part with the views of his hero, Raphael Hythlodæ.

Ames' emphasis on Utopia as "partly a city league, partly a socialist state" (p. 87) is supported by his account of the models More used—Greek, Roman, Flemish, Dutch and Hanseatic towns, Swiss, Venetian and Florentine republics. To the Humanists, cities were "the natural strongholds of culture . . . against the ignorance and brutality of feudalism" (p. 112). Most of the More-Erasmus circle held office in city or national government, and More added to this public service unusual knowledge of mercantile enterprise.

The merchants are therefore portrayed, though somewhat awkwardly, in the *Utopia*, as More wished to teach them a lesson on the "excessive profit-making and on the dangers of wealth" (p. 153). The nobility are not included, and the prince is unimportant. The priesthood is respected—a contrast to English anticlericalism and perhaps a proof of More's great hopes from the Fifth Lateran Council, then in session.

Dr. Ames adds: "It is easy to forget, to-day, that all the Utopians were rich. Their simple lives seem rather hard and bare to us, but in contemporary terms the Utopians were all prosperous burghers after their six hours' manual labor was over. They had fine houses, excellent food, music, leisure, education, political rights, magnificent churches, lovely gardens, and a feeling of perfect security concerning the futures of their families" (p. 153).

Though the reader may not always agree with Dr. Ames, there is little to criticize unfavorably. More was not the first lay chancellor—this has been several times corrected, as in the Historical Notes in the late Dr. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock's edition of Harpsfield, p. 349. More's fees did not "double," but were raised only from 20 s. to 26 s. 8 d. (p. 60). Proof-reading is well-done—though that is easy with Princeton University Press composing. Utopia should have been italicized once more on p. 104. Several mistakes may be in proof-reading or in spelling—of Francis Cranevelt, p. 38 n., *Meteorologica*, p. 39, de Praet, p. 68, Augsburg, p. 97. *Erasmi Epistolæ* is consistently misspelled. However, this criticism does not make "the book worthy to lie hidden in the island itself," as More feared for his own work.



Dr. Ames' point of view may be well complemented by the reading of H. W. Donner's "Introduction to Utopia," Uppsala, 1945, which seems not well known in the United States. His discussion of the use of Latin (pp. 6-9) is of particular interest, with its added reference to the work of Madame Marie Delcourt in editing the Latin text.

Dr. Donner gives a much fuller account of the form of the *Utopia*, its use of Platonic dialogue and of the popular tales of travel in Vespucci's account of his voyages, and in Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* (pp. 15-29).

The Swede writes more easily than the American, and also allows for More's humor, choosing the "double manner of praise and parody, making some things good in his ideal commonwealth and some things 'very absurd,' leaving it to the good sense of his readers to decide where he was in earnest and where he was speaking 'in sport.'"

The conclusion is fine summary of More's point of view: "The *Utopia* does not attempt a final solution of the problems of human society—for More was too wise to attempt the impossible—but it contains an appeal addressed to all of us, which allows of no refusal, that we should try and do each one his share to mend our own selves and ease the burden of our fellow-men, to improve mankind and prepare for the life to come. In this lies its enduring power, that however high we may fix the ideal, to whatever perfection we may attain, More points higher still, from matter to the spirit, and from man to God" (p. 83).

ELIZABETH FRANCES ROGERS

Wilson College

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*A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.*

By MURIEL BOWDEN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xii + 316. Illus.: Chaucer miniature, Ellesmere MS. \$4.00.

This is an excellent book of reference for an advanced student of Chaucer. It affords a judiciously assembled digest of important material for the study of certain phases of the background of the Prologue. What is more it occasionally includes points of original creative scholarship of its own, testifying to its author's minutely thorough method. On the other hand, it is not a book to give to the beginner, partly because it is too weighted with information and partly because its emphasis falls chiefly on such matters as campaigns, economic history, the corruptions of the Church, and shows less concern with the positive achievements of the age in art, science, philosophy, and religion. In other words it serves chiefly to corroborate certain details in the Prologue by other examples or specific allusion to related facts. On the literary side it fails to deal



with the literary development of the portraits of the pilgrims (having a history similar to that of the seventeenth-century Character), with comments on the whole device of tales within a framework and the pilgrimage, observations like Kittredge's on what sort of pilgrims Chaucer had the stupendous luck to meet, Sister Madeleva's important reply to Lowes regarding the Prioress, and other matters of the kind. Discussion of the Clerk might have led to some consideration of medieval philosophy and Boethius in particular, so important for Chaucer. In dealing with religion the author seems to belong to the Coulton school of historians (in certain ways, of course, there is none better except when on a scavenger hunt), which means that she speaks of the "crushing load of religious and feudal traditions" (p. 2), quotes with apparent approval the idea that "'medieval religion was too irrational'" for the development of chivalry (p. 45, overlooking perhaps Thomas Aquinas!), and sees the Parson as probably a Lollard, although apparently he is an example of a strict and dedicated priest among the orthodox, chosen for that very purpose to contrast with some others.

One may well regret that room was not provided for more material on the glory of the Medieval Church, in its architecture, its glass, and its music; for more allusions to the development of fourteenth-century mysticism, including material on the school of Richard Rolle and the significance of Piers Plowman. Such details are quite as apropos as more examples of corrupt Churchmen if we shall study fairly the Chaucer of the Prologue, who was also a religious writer (in poetry and prose) and who translated the Parson's Tale. For further points of criticism I may add that I think consideration of the Italian journeys should have been included, though earlier than 1387, in the survey of "This world so variable." The idea that Chaucer takes over the passage from Guido (p. 20) for the beginning of the Prologue is surely to be discarded in view of the many other sources that have been suggested. The translation of "worthy" as "brave" (p. 49) will not do (though with "power" "worthinesse" is Chaucer's rendering of *valentiam*, the meaning there is more like "strength"); it must be interpreted by the other uses in the Prologue, including the reference to the "worthy" women of the town and the "worthy vavassour." It seems in general to mean to "have what it takes," "to be what one might reasonably expect." With the repetition, however, in the Prologue it gains, I think, an ironical overtone. So are they all, all honorable men! "Of evene lengthe" (p. 81) means "of moderate height." "In principio" (p. 130) is the beginning of the most direct statement in the Gospel of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and there could hardly be a passage more important, aside from its use as a greeting. "Purchas" (p. 143) of course implies (as Francis James Child is said once to have remarked) "pickings and stealings." In the Bibliography Erasmus and the *Legenda Aurea* are listed only in translation. With regard to the

Monk (pp. 115 and 118) Chaucer of course did not throw over the portrait in the Prologue when he came to using the tragedies; the Monk of the series of tragedies is precisely the same kind of sentimentalist as the one we have in the Prologue—he is enjoying the pleasant sensations of piety and pathos. I hope the reference on page 7 does not mean Miss Bowden thinks that the Parliament was completed before the House of Fame. I note one misprint (“fifty”) on page 256. There is no index, a deficiency for which I hope the author will someday make amends. But I would not have these strictures give the impression of ingratitude in the face of the very real merit of the book, in which solid scholarship is used to present really significant conclusions all the way through.

HOWARD R. PATCH .

Smith College

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*The Bad Quarto of “Romeo and Juliet.”* By HARRY R. HOPPE.  
Cornell Studies in English, Vol. xxxvi. Ithaca, New York:  
Cornell University Press, 1948. Pp. ix + 230. \$3.00.

Since 1909, when Pollard first made clear the essential differences between “good” and “bad” quartos, many bad quartos have been studied, both collectively and individually, in considerable detail. Dr. Hoppe has now subjected the bad quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (Q1, “Printed by Iohn Danter. / 1597”) to the same kind of searching analysis that, for example, Dr. Duthie gave to the bad quarto of *Hamlet* in 1941; and the result is another important monograph on the text of Shakespeare. The first of Dr. Hoppe’s five chapters is devoted chiefly to an account of the career of the pirate, Danter, and to a demonstration that: (1) the whole of the bad quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was almost certainly printed during February and/or March, 1597; but that (2), probably because of difficulties in which another piratical venture involved him during this period, Danter himself printed only a part of the play, the last six of the ten signatures of the book undoubtedly issuing from some other shop. This is wholly convincing, and provides a fitting introduction for the central contribution of Dr. Hoppe’s book: the analysis, presented in Chapters II-V, of the Q1 text itself. At the outset of this analysis he declares that his main purpose is to make clear that “Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* is a memorial reconstruction of a version that Q2 represents in substantially correct form” (p. 58). He then attempts to show, however, that: (1) a full version of the play as we now know it, although originally acted by Shakespeare’s company in approximately this form, was subsequently (but before 1597) abridged by a “theatrical adapter” for performance by a reduced cast; (2) Q1 represents a “report” by an actor or actors who had recently performed in the shortened

play but who had also played in the fuller version; so that (3) Q1 is essentially a memorial reconstruction of the abridged play, but a reconstruction eked out by vague recollections of the original and complete text that is substantially represented by Q2, the good quarto of 1599. Thus the statement of thesis at the beginning of Chapter II is very much oversimplified if not actually inconsistent with what follows. But this fact is not likely to obscure seriously the real value of the book. After disposing summarily of the older explanations of Q1 as either a first draft or a shorthand report (Chapter II), Dr. Hoppe provides in Chapters III-IV what is as near to a proof as we are ever likely to get that the Danter quarto is a memorial reconstruction; and he must be particularly commended for the objectivity and good sense with which he points out and evaluates the transpositions, anticipations, recollections, borrowings, and the like, that are the basic evidence of memorial activity. In Chapter V, moreover, he has made an extraordinarily strong case (though he claims no more than "a high degree of probability") for reporting by the actors of two specific parts in the play—those of Romeo and Paris—instead of by a "book-keeper" as Dr. Greg very tentatively suggested in 1941. It is, indeed, only when he argues that Q1 is based both on an early abridgement and, less immediately, on the fuller original text, that we can hesitate to accept Dr. Hoppe's conclusions. The difficulty here is not only that so complicated a set of presuppositions as this ingenious theory requires is not absolutely necessary to explain the evidence, but also that the theory appears to create a new batch of problems. When and for what purpose, for example, was the hypothetical abridgement made? And was the subsequent report of this abridgement prepared "merely as printer's copy for Danter or as prompt copy for a dramatic company . . . or both" (pp. 205, 221)? If based on a full text of the play alone—and it remains possible that the Q1 text represents a faulty memorial reconstruction of the original version only—then Q1 might very simply be explained as the result of an effort to provide a "book" for provincial playing by a small group of actors. Dr. Hoppe is of course aware of this; and he may well be right in feeling that his more elaborate theory nevertheless best accounts for the peculiarities of the Q1 text; yet here, surely, the issue remains in some doubt. And the considerations advanced in the last nine pages, where it is ultimately suggested that Gabriel Spencer and William Bird may have been the actual reporters, are far more interesting than convincing; but Dr. Hoppe makes very clear that these pleasant pages are essentially "surmises" and highly speculative—as the *major* conclusions of his book are certainly not. Although, in sum, he does not resolve all question as to precisely what was reported, and as to when and why the report was made, he convincingly demonstrates that the Danter quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* does represent a memorial report, and a report almost certainly made by actors, but that this

report, while ultimately based upon the fuller version of the play which directly underlies the Q2 text, was for the most part probably not derived immediately from that version alone.

CHARLTON HINMAN

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*A Guide to Trollope.* By WINIFRED GREGORY GEROULD and JAMES THAYER GEROULD. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. xxv + 256. \$5.00.

The need for such a reference work as Dr. and Mrs. Gerould have compiled has for some time been acute. No reader, however faithful or persevering, can be expected to recall the intricacies of scores of plots or distinguish among hundreds of subordinate characters. That most of Trollope's work will be forgotten is the inevitable penalty to be paid by an author of 131 volumes. *A Guide to Trollope* covers nearly all of these, as well as an immense amount of ephemera in periodicals. If the Geroulds err at all, it is on the side of fullness, treating even such a story as "Katchen's Caprices," which is almost certainly not by Trollope, and "Never, Never—Never, Never," which one *hopes* is not by Trollope. But the compilers have pursued their task with energy and accuracy, and to say that the *Guide* will be an indispensable adjunct to Trollope scholarship is simply to state the obvious.

Dictionaries and encyclopedias devoted to major authors and their works have become fairly common in recent years. This one, perhaps signaling Trollope's emergence among the most important English novelists, brings him into the company of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Meredith, Hardy, and Kipling—all of whom have been so treated. The Geroulds have had the advantage of proceeding along paths well marked out by predecessors. They have done this carefully, and I do not see that they have made a misstep. But they have also struck out here and there on their own—with profitable results. They have not only allowed their author to describe his own characters as far as is feasible from the novels themselves, which is the practice of all recent compilers, but they have reproduced his commentary from the *Autobiography*. Furthermore, they have reprinted pertinent paragraphs from the best credentialed biographers and critics. Another novelty is a very handy set of conversion tables, which enable the reader to locate a scene when, as so often happens, the chapters have been renumbered as they have passed from three-volume to one-volume editions.

On the other hand, the plot synopses, often set apart in a separate section, are here run into the text proper and are very much more condensed than is normal. This condensation, perhaps dictated

by reason of the space required to treat all of Trollope's various novels, is readily forgiven where the stories, as in the Barchester and Parliamentary series, are well known. It would be helpful, however, to have a fuller account of minor works which the casual reader may not know and of which even the careful student needs to be reminded. Another helpful series of entries would be of authors mentioned or quoted. One cannot criticize the Geroulds for failing to provide this information, for such a listing would entail labor which no other compilers have felt called upon to expend. Mudge and Sears in their *George Eliot Dictionary* have included a list of books mentioned in the novels by title, but not of authors. This points up the issue tantalizingly, but does not meet it.

It is heartening to find scholars willing to undertake the tedium of this kind of work, and it is pleasant to find it done so well. The few errors I have found are too trivial to mention. *A Guide to Trollope* is an excellent handbook. It is to be hoped that others will follow until all our major novelists have been covered.

BRADFORD A. BOOTH

*University of California, Los Angeles*

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*Negro Voices in American Fiction.* By HUGH M. GLOSTER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 295. \$3.50.

Professor Gloster's general intention here is to treat synoptically works of fiction by Negro writers from Reconstruction days to our own times. His interests center not on literary quality, but on subject-matter and its social significance—on "the psychology and interests of Negroes, their achievements and aspirations, and the problems arising from their juxtaposition with the white majority of the country." (vii.) Thus, as he says, he is writing social history, not literary criticism. From this declared intention, the form of the study follows rather rigorously: brief accounts of background; sketches of white fictions about the Negro; and painstakingly detailed accounts of Negro movements, Negro authors, and individual works of fiction by Negroes. In the end, what we are given is a descriptive bibliographical study arranged according to leading sociological motifs.

And as such, *Negro Voices in American Fiction* is first-rate. Professor Gloster's summaries and descriptions, which are at the heart of his work, are accurate and just—so a random sampling of the books themselves shows. And his taste and insight are such that he is successful in separating normative from descriptive state-



ments; so separated, the normative points up, never blurs, the descriptive. Moreover, the descriptive accounts in *Negro Voices* in themselves make it a valuable guide into the dark and often terrifying lands which Professor Gloster would map out for us. Raw content, what is taken to be the purely sociological impact of the books described, is made all the more disturbingly meaningful by being massed as it is in this bibliographical, scholarly, objective fashion.

Yet one wonders if Professor Gloster hasn't split the literary and the sociological a little too arbitrarily. Concerned deeply with social significance, he somehow overlooks the fact that the very literary quality of much of the fiction he treats is itself sociological; that is to say, style, treatment, and point of view are just as significant sociologically as is raw content—more so, perhaps, since the writer of fiction (even of bad fiction) gives us finished, not raw, content. One notes, in all the fiction of which Professor Gloster treats, how Negro writing shares the faults (and the virtues) of white writing of its time. So it is that the pervading weakness of "socially conscious" Negro fiction is the pervading weakness of "socially conscious" white fiction—general superficiality, a willingness to sacrifice particular human qualities for general ideological issues. It is a matter of literary methods, of a literary tradition; and the tradition, like all traditions, is sociological. The nature of the inferiority of inferior novels is as significant sociologically as is the nature of the materials of which those novels are composed. Novels by Negroes on Negro themes are part and parcel of the major traditions of our recent literature, for good and for bad. Thus an irony of our recent literary history appears as, working through Professor Gloster's study, one realizes how close Negro writers were to the very white writers whom, as often as not, they were trying to set straight. It is in failing to treat precisely this irony that Professor Gloster makes his somewhat arbitrary split between the literary and the sociological.

What remains for judicious approval, however, is a great deal—indeed, everything that Professor Gloster intends—an historical-bibliographical awareness, a sense of fact as fact, of content as content. It is an achievement to have made such fact and such content available.

ROY HARVEY PEARCE

Ohio State University

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*Edmund Spenser and The Faerie Queene.* By LEICESTER BRADNER.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 190. \$2.75.

From his opening sentence: "The sixteenth century was an age of violence, change, and confusion," Professor Bradner sets out at once to account for our twentieth-century neglect of *The Faerie Queene* and to win readers for it. The introductory chapter, in which he makes it clear that Spenser was no escapist but an active sharer in the life of his world, is well calculated to lure the friendly follower into further familiarity. If later he gives disproportionate space and perhaps the wrong identification to Rosalind (pp. 24-25, 41, 56-65), he has chosen to emphasize a puzzle which will continue, no doubt, to be a perennial attraction. Possibly he would have stimulated more readers had he suggested that "E. K., the anonymous editor" and "Spenser's friend" may have been Spenser himself. As for other identifications on which scholars still fail to agree, he is careful to point out that Spenser's pastoral names, like Rosalind, do not always represent the same person.

The forty-page summary of Spenser's life is admirable. In view of what he attempts, Bradner is immeasurably more successful than Spenser's recent "full-length" biographer, Professor Judson. The poet's boyhood is explained in the light of memories of Bloody Mary and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, not mentioned by Judson, and such obvious topics of popular controversy as the matrimonial dilemmas of the Virgin Queen, the new book of common prayer, and the claims and the 1568 imprisonment of Mary Stuart, of whom Spenser became "soon aware" but whom Judson barely names before the time of her execution in 1587. He cites the "vivid accounts" in Nichols' *Progresses*, relegated by Judson to a footnote, and refers to the Cambridge influence of Walter Haddon (whose Latinity was admired and whose son was drowned in the Cam while Spenser was an undergraduate) and Ramus and Calvin, and of Pembroke's own Ridley and Nuce, all of whom Judson ignores. Some readers will be unwilling to go so far with Bradner as to admit that Spenser married a Machabeus Chyld in 1579-80 or that to the latter belonged the "feigned name which being wel ordered" could, according to E. K., clear up the Rosalind mystery.

Before taking up *The Faerie Queene*, Professor Bradner analyzes *The Shepherd's Calender*, and particularly the October eclogue, for Spenser's methods. Harvey's "Hobgoblin" comparison (which suggested that the poet's masterpiece-to-be, like his century, was of "violence, change, and confusion" all compact) happily leads Bradner to discuss the "Ariosto-narrative" of Books III-V before the "allegorical" Books I-II. A chapter is devoted to Book VI, "in many respects the best," and another to the Mutability cantos. These four chapters, the heart of the volume, consist of a running analysis with frequent pauses for comment upon the poet's aims

and effects. All in all, the method of the "noble experiment" which would win readers for Spenser is about as successful as it can hope to be. The intent behind Bradner's expedient of a "somewhat modernized" text is beyond cavil, but his actual modernizing is more honored in the breach than the observance. He has, as he says, "changed only two old words"—neither of them in *The Faerie Queene*—if we do not count "tunes" (p. 35, last line) for "turnes." But the liberties taken with the text (sometimes doubtless by the printer) will not cause readers with an ear for rhythm to be appreciative of Spenser's metrics. At least six times (pp. 93, 95, 117, 164, 183, 184) alexandrines are subjected to a "violence" which is not of Spenser's century. Misprints occur all too frequently; a few of them, recorded here, will not impress the reader in Spenser's behalf. On p. 84 read "with her for you die"; on p. 96, "the which that boaster threw" and "Ne of that goodly hue"; p. 118, "feeble, fleshly wight"; p. 147, "then come in greater store"; from the stanza on p. 142 the fifth line has been omitted.

In enthusiasm for its subject, in design and organization, and in much of its commentary this book merits the highest praise; yet it has not completely succeeded in the specific task to which, to quote the preface, "the present work is dedicated."

ROLAND M. SMITH

*The University of Illinois*

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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THE BROWN NIGHT AGAIN. My thanks are due to Miss Judy Mendels for calling to my attention, after the publication of my article, "The Brown Night in the German Baroque" (*MLN* LXIV, 380-386), to a treatment of the semantic development of "brown" by A. E. H. Swaen in his article, "The palette set" (*Engl. Studien* 74 (1940), 62-88). Many of the examples used by me were previously recorded there. My conclusions are not affected by Professor Swaen's material.

STANLEY NEWMAN WERBOW

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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